DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 403 515 CG 027 508

AUTHOR	Bryant, B. K., Comp.
TITLE	Counseling for Racial Understanding.
INSTITUTION	American Counseling Association, Alexandria, VA.
REPORT NO	ISBN-1-55620-113-3
PUB DATE	94
NOTE	132p.
AVAILABLE FROM	American Counseling Association, 5999 Stevenson Avenue, Alexandria, VA 22304-3300 (Order Number 72111, $17.95).
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Behavior Modification; Change Strategies; *Community Change; *Counseling Techniques; Cultural Context; Ethnic Stereotypes; Fear; *Minority Groups; *Multicultural Education; Psychological Patterns; *Racial Attitudes; *Racial Bias

ABSTRACT

This book is a practical guide for professional counselors and others concerned with evaluating and reducing the effects of prejudice. It is based on the concept that before victims of prejudice can be helped, the nature of prejudice and its effect on all individuals must be understood. Full of real-world advice, this book addresses how to identify the problem, handle prejudice-related events, initiate post-event counseling, meet the needs of the victims, counsel those who act on feelings of racism, and bring about permanent change. Chapters are: (1) Prejudice and Its Forms of Expression; (2) Characteristics of Affected Populations: People Who Are Prejudiced; (3) Characteristics of Affected Populations: People Who Are the Targets of Prejudice; (4) Defining a Prejudice-Related Event; (5) Short-Term Responses to Overt Events; (6) Establishing an Environment for Community-Directed Counseling; and (7) Foundations for Permanent Change. Contains 10 references and an annotated resource list. (LSR)

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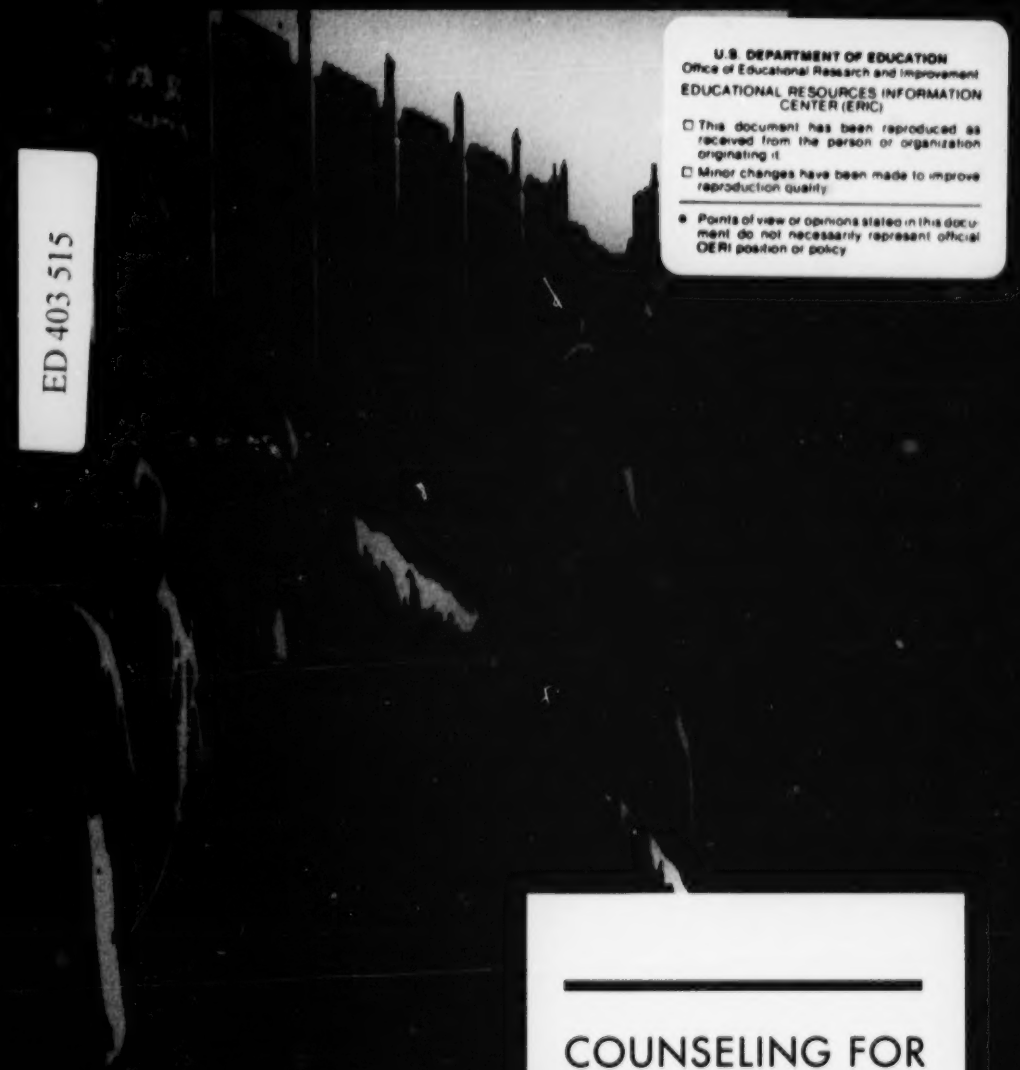

COUNSELING FOR RACIAL UNDERSTANDING

compiled by
B. K. Bryant

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COUNSELING FOR RACIAL UNDERSTANDING

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10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Cover Photograph
© 1991 Ricky Flores, Impact Visuals

Cover design by Martha Woolsey

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bryant, Brenda K., 1948–
Counseling for racial understanding / compiled by B.K. Bryant.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 1-55620-126-5
1. Prejudices—United States—Prevention. 2. Racism—United States—Prevention. 3. Ethnic relations—Psychological aspects. 4. United States—Race relations—Psychological aspects. 5. United States—Ethnic relations—Psychological aspects. 6. Cross-cultural counseling—United States. I. Title.
BF575.P9B76 1993
362.84—dc20 93-36424
CIP

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PREFACE

Prompted by the April 1992 Los Angeles riots, the initial concept for *Counseling for Racial Understanding* was to develop a book specifically related to racism and its effects. However, research reawakened an awareness that racism is only one component of an unending flow of negative prejudice justified by a range of ethnic and cultural differences. Ethnic prejudice cannot be narrowly and solely confined to racism. This volume has been developed to provide a plain-language, accessible guide for professional counselors and others who are concerned with evaluating and ameliorating the effects of ethnic prejudice in the broader sense.

Counseling for Racial Understanding provides basic information about the way prejudice works and practical suggestions for

- evaluating situations generated by ethnic prejudice,
- identifying affected populations,
- establishing an appropriate environment for crisis and long-term change,
- addressing the needs of individual populations, and
- expanding opportunities to discuss and ameliorate the effects of ethnic prejudice at all levels.

In *Counseling for Racial Understanding*, the term *prejudice* is used as shorthand for the holding of negative attitudes and beliefs based on ethnic differences among and between individuals and groups, which can lead to individual and societal harm.

Many books and articles were reviewed during the compilation of this volume. The authors of those works consistently stated that there is no single set of guidelines for all bias situations because individual circumstances involving prejudice differ. This may well be true. However, as Gordon Allport did in his landmark study of prejudice during the 1950s, it is possible to identify common threads of experience and resolution. The goal of this volume is to provide an overview of these common threads in plain language that will serve as a tool that professional counselors and noncounselors can use to initiate efforts toward resolving conflict based on difference and establishing long-term community and individual sensitivity to the nature and manifestation of prejudice.

This book is not a cookbook, nor is it a scholarly treatise. It does not provide all the answers, describe all forms of bias, nor set forth all the options for change. *Counseling for Racial Understanding* is only a beginning reference. The emphasis of this brief volume is on real-world understanding and practical solutions. Because of the manner in which it has been written, the book

can be used by a wide range of people. Individual sources are cited occasionally, but only when absolutely necessary. The intention is not to delve deeply into theories underlying prejudice, although theory is incorporated into the text.

The book contains seven brief chapters and a resource list. Each chapter begins with a list of key concepts, and several chapters begin with definitions of a few key terms. Chapter 1 includes a definition of *prejudice* and descriptions and examples of ways in which it is expressed. Chapter 2 describes the nature of prejudice as a way of life and some of the characteristics of prejudiced people. Chapter 3 offers a brief description of the effects of prejudice on victims and behaviors that typically result. Chapter 4 is an overview of prejudice-related events, including patterns of action and nature of participants. Chapter 5 provides specific suggestions on how to handle the issues that immediately arise during prejudice-related events. Chapter 6 suggests ways to initiate a community-based approach to postevent counseling, including necessary preparation and particular issues relevant to children and adolescents. Chapter 7 discusses some of the ways to bring about permanent change, offers suggestions on how professional counselors can contribute, reviews obstacles to change, and provides options for involving other segments of society.

The resource list is brief and reflects the plain-language goal of the volume. The few references cited in individual chapters are incorporated into this list. The other resources have been carefully selected so that the reader has access to good examples of the kinds of materials that can be used, as well as to sources that are good resources in and of themselves. The books listed typically include extensive bibliographies. Thus, this last section aids in initiating a study of ethnic prejudice beyond what is possible in *Counseling for Racial Understanding*.

Although useful to anyone wishing to understand more about prejudice, this publication is most useful to two audiences. The primary audience is professional counselors who wish to sensitize themselves and others to the issues surrounding prejudice. They may find it useful in efforts to identify individuals who are victims of attitudes or acts originating in prejudice, whether an individual is a person with prejudices or the victim of such a person. It is an especially valuable resource for professional counselors who are faced perhaps for the first time with the need to deal with prejudice and event-specific reactions, such as those experienced by citizens of Los Angeles during the April 1992 riots.

Another audience is made up of teachers, community organizers, political leaders, and counseling students who may find the book to be a useful source of general information about ethnic prejudice, its effects, and options for action. In sum, although the volume is designed to contribute to professional counseling, it is equally valuable to the larger community in which we live.

INTRODUCTION

Xenophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Black, anti-Irish, bigotry, clannishness, intolerance, ethnocentrism, discrimination, exclusionism, stereotype, isolationism, pogrom, ghetto, tribalism, segregation, supremacy, racism—our language is rich in words and phrases connoting negative prejudice and denoting its by-products.

Prejudice is attitude, belief, and valuation. Most of us like to believe that negative prejudice toward a category of people is a phenomenon experienced by only a few, either as believer or target. We are told that negative prejudice in all its forms is becoming progressively less common, as we come to know our neighbors who live across the street and across the oceans.

However, events in the 1990s should serve as a reminder that prejudice is neither dead nor confined to one small group of extremists. The April 1992 Los Angeles riots, anti-ethnic riots in Germany, so-called ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, Black-on-Black violence in South Africa, increasing ethnic and racial tensions on college campuses in the United States—these and other less widely reported events demonstrate that times of distress, economic hardship, and social change lead to overt expressions of negative prejudice in its many forms.

The reality is that few of us are proof against holding negative prejudices. We find ourselves resenting that a neighbor does not speak *our* language, and we develop resentment toward a group as a whole. We are suspicious of a co-worker raised in another society who will not "look us in the eye." We are ignorant that his or her culture teaches that direct eye contact is an insult. We wonder whether there is a way to protect our children's future jobs in light of the growing population of a new ethnic group in our city, rather than evaluating the possible benefits of that group's culture and concerning ourselves with constructive change to advance all segments of the population.

As Americans, we have been educated to believe in our image of democratic action and opportunity—of acceptance of diversity and competition. Our attitude is that WE are not prejudiced, but that bigotry in the United States is the province of a few fringe groups and ignorant or disturbed individuals. At the same time, we are quick to identify racism and other forms of negative prejudice among other peoples, from South Africa to Germany to Japan, and to cry out for immediate political change and even armed intervention to enforce that change. We like to think that the bigots demonstrating in our streets and perpetrating verbal and physical attacks on a target group in our own community are universally greeted by outrage. We assume that such actions are met with a reasoned and equitable level of social, political, and legal response. It is always "them." It is never "us."

Because of ignorance, preoccupation with personal interests, lack of identification with the victims, and sometimes fear of repercussion, many of us living in the United States choose to ignore instances of prejudice that we do not experience as victims. Thus, few of us are proof against prejudice.

Regardless of specific events precipitated by racism and other forms of negative prejudice and individual efforts designed to ameliorate its effects, outward expression of ethnic prejudice is increasing. It is a generally unacknowledged, yet pervasive reality in today's living. Youths, often encouraged by influential adults, are especially prone to express prejudice-related frustrations and pain through violence against their peers and other members of their communities.

In the last 30 years, changes for the better have been made, and many individuals now consciously strive for equity between and among peoples who differ. However, despite past efforts, there is a clear need to lay a stronger foundation for change in our communities, the nation, and the world. We cannot ignore that those who fear and fight against those who differ from themselves are ever ready to strike out. Economic pressures, job loss, lack of advancement, and simple fear—these and other factors aggravate negative intentions. It is never just "them." It is always "us," too.

Professional counselors are in a position to see the effects of this destructive force in schools, mental health clinics, social service agencies, and communities. Professional counselors are also in a position to address prejudice and its effects on three levels.

First, as individuals, they can consider how their own attitudes and beliefs affect their interactions with those whom they counsel and live. Second, they can prepare themselves to offer immediate intervention services to their communities, population subgroups, and, especially, young people. Third, they can actively support the development of long-term programs to ameliorate the effects of prejudice on their neighbors and the institutions under which people are educated, trained, employed, governed, and judged.

Reaching the Source of Prejudice

When evaluating evidence and drawing conclusions, scientists are supposed to maintain their objectivity. When examining what appear to be the causes of ethnic prejudice, it is possible to argue that prejudice is a learned behavior, especially when it is manifested by a young person, and that the prejudiced person is not responsible for his or her attitudes and beliefs. It is possible to demonstrate that some people have been raised to believe that their particular negative prejudice is moral and ethical, and that in the context

of their social grouping they may be correct. It is also possible to argue that holding prejudices under such circumstances, especially when coupled with a low self-image, serves a function: By holding oneself superior to a target population or individual, one is able to gain some sense of self-worth.

However, in our society and in the context of the violence that our nation experiences, acting on feelings of prejudice is not appropriate nor can it be tolerated. Although individuals who hold prejudices may function within society, they present an imminent threat to themselves and others in that they are vulnerable to increasing frustration and progressively violent acting out if daily living exposes them to the targets of that prejudice.

An examination of the literature reveals that a great deal of time is spent discussing how to ameliorate the effects of prejudice on the victims and the community—points readily accessible to counseling efforts. However, little attention is actually paid to counseling people who act on their feelings of prejudice and who are or will be raising children. It is almost as if when faced with the difficulty of changing deeply held attitudes, such as those found in prejudiced people, professional counselors and other people who could create change abdicate their roles as instruments of change. Every society must act to enable the prejudiced to recognize the effects of their beliefs on others, as well as on themselves and their children. It is the responsibility of every citizen to assist them to function more effectively and productively in society—otherwise, their children and the children of every citizen will repeat the cycle. Thus, a primary goal of this volume is to encourage everyone to reexamine how to counsel those who act on their feelings of negative prejudice toward others.

CHAPTER ONE

PREJUDICE AND ITS FORMS OF EXPRESSION

Key Concepts

- Ethnic prejudice can be found at every level of society and within all institutions.
- Any individual or group of individuals who exhibit a characteristic that sets them apart from what is represented as the societal norm may be selected to be a target for prejudice.
- The intensity of feeling and aggressiveness of expression of ethnic prejudice tends to escalate.

Terms

Attitude	feeling toward objects of belief
Belief	something accepted as truth
Culture	customs, behaviors, folkways, social stuctures, beliefs, history, language, and other societal components shared by a group or groups of people
Ethnic/ ethnicity	belonging to a group of humans that shares a culture
Race	biological divisions of humankind, of which today five main groups have been identified: African, Asian, American Mongoloid, Pacific, and European
Racism	irrational, negative attitudes and beliefs toward a group of individuals distinguished by seemingly distinct ethnic or other characteristics

If a person's behavior deviates markedly from the norm in a way that threatens another person's well-being, he or she is a possible danger to our community. Unless that difference can be resolved, it is inappropriate for that person to continue living openly in and benefiting from our society. The institutions of our society must be designed to protect us against such people. This is what being civilized means.

On the surface, this statement might appear to provide a reasonable premise on which a society might be based—protection of the ordinary citizen from individuals who behave dangerously. Statements much like this are found in historical documents and written into our laws; and they are used to justify everything from getting tough on crime to segregating the mentally ill from the community. But questions must be asked: Who defines what is the norm, what is a deviation, what is a difference? Is it appropriate to define competition as threat? What constitutes justice and equality for all when placed in the context of our personal fears?

The opening statement is weighted with prejudice—with attitudes and beliefs that may be expressions of irrational, negative feelings toward clusters of individuals. In a society that has accepted such attitudes and beliefs, who would be aware of our prejudices?

We have given specific labels to each manifestation of prejudice that we have been able to identify—racism, anti-Semitism, sexism, homophobia, class conflict, xenophobia—terms ad infinitum. On the surface, there appear to be sufficient differences to warrant such labels, although the labeled groups differ and verbiage changes. However, it is usually difficult to delineate where expression of one aspect of prejudice ends and another begins. When a boat owned by a fisherman of Vietnamese origin is burned by American-born fishermen (White and Black) whose families have derived a living from fishing an area for generations, is that act of arson an act of racism, turf prejudice, extreme nationalism, or an expression of economic stress that might be directed against anyone perceived as taking someone else's job?

Finally, does it matter what we call a specific manifestation of prejudice? If its effects are common to all expressions of prejudice, are specifics relevant? Can we not learn to recognize prejudice in whatever form it is expressed?

This chapter examines what prejudice is, how it is demonstrated, and how targets for prejudice are selected.

Why Are We Concerned with More Than Racial Prejudice?

The word *prejudice* brings *racial prejudice* to our minds immediately. However, prejudice can be directed toward any group that can be defined by any characteristic—skin color, gender, sexual orientation, occupational class, political belief, age, and so forth. Moreover, it is questionable whether *racial prejudice* is an accurate term despite its dominance in common parlance and social-scientific literature.

It is ironic that using the term *racial prejudice* emphasizes our association of race with images of inferiority. The concept of prejudice based on race is relatively new, and arguably was derived from the use of race to justify acts of fear and suppression for which the root cause may be something other than race. In the preface to the 1954 edition of his landmark study *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1979)[1] noted that race prejudice was a relatively recent creation, and that in the past prejudice had been justified based on religious differences (e.g., Jews were persecuted because of their religion not because of their race). He also noted that Blacks who were enslaved were viewed as economic assets, and their enslavement was rationalized by saying that they were pagans and, as the sons of Ham, cursed by Noah to be servants forever. As religion lost some of its influence in the late 19th century, race became the issue, perhaps because

> the simplicity of "race" gave an immediate and visible mark, so it was thought, by which to designate victims of dislike. And the fixation of racial inferiority became, so it seemed, an irrefutable justification for prejudice. It had the stamp of biological finality, and spared people the pains of examining the complex economic, cultural, political, and psychological conditions that enter into group relations. (Allport, 1954/1979, p. xviii)

Allport made these statements almost 40 years ago. There appears to be a continuing reluctance to set aside the concept of race as a delineator of prejudice. We have failed to acknowledge that all people, regardless of skin color or seeming biological delimiters, have an ethnic heritage. Terms like *race*, *culture*, and *ethnicity* are used without an understanding of their meaning.

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[1]*The Nature of Prejudice* (1954/1979) is a landmark study and a vital resource to anyone attempting to understand the nature and effects of negative prejudice. Originally published in 1954, it has been updated twice: in 1958 by Allport, and in 1979 by Pettigrew and Kramer, who were students of Allport. Allport's basic premises and interpretations have served as the underpinning for extensive research since the volume's publication. That research has reinforced the value of his efforts.

Race is the term we use to refer to the grouping of human beings based on observable physical characteristics. Traditionally, scientists have agreed that there are three primary races: Caucasians, people loosely defined as "white skinned"; Mongolians, composed chiefly of people of northern and eastern Asia; and Negroes, composed chiefly of black-skinned people of Africa. More recently, scientists have begun to refine definitions of race based on genetic characteristics, sometimes combining geographic designators. Using this new information, as many as nine racial groups may be used. The five main groups are

European, "White" caucasians from locations ranging from Scandinavia to Mediterranean people of Southern Europe and North Africa;

African, including African Negroes, that is, people living south of the Sahara;

Asian, people of continental Asia (excluding South Asia and the Middle East), including people of China, Japan, Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Phillippines, and people living in the India-Pakistan subcontinent (people of India-Pakistan are sometimes treated as a separate group);

American Indian (Amerindian or American Mongoloid), including aboriginal populations on the American continent; and

Pacific, including Australian aborigines; Melanesians, people of New Britain, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands; Polynesians, the other people of the Pacific Islands; and Micronesians, dark-skinned people living on the Carolines, Gilberts, Marianas, and Marshall Island groups. These four groups are sometimes treated as "stand-alone" groups.

Culture is learned behavior that is passed on from one generation to the next or from an existing group to new members. It includes social structure, language, government, politics, dress, behaviors, history, folkways, and every other aspect of living within a group. Physical geography and even weather influence the formation of culture, in that learning to deal with one's environment influences behavior, problem solving, nature and frequency of social interaction, use of raw materials, commerce, and all other aspects of culture. For example, if a society is physically isolated, as the Aborigines of Australia were until the coming of the English, it is more likely that their culture would be relatively stable, if not static. The more frequent and intense interaction with other cultures is, the more likely it is that a culture will change. Culture is not necessarily confined by national borders, which are lines drawn on a map and subject to change, although arbitrary political borders can play a part in interactions between cultures (e.g., in relation to trade and warfare).

The concept of *ethnicity* has been associated strongly with Black and Native American cultures in the recent past, and it is broadly associated with unique

cultures that are wholly or partially maintained within other societies. It might seem that culture and ethnic characteristics or ethnicity are interchangeable concepts, as indeed they were for many years. However, common usage of the term *ethnicity* has become more specific, especially in the last 20 years. Ethnicity is the shared social and cultural heritage of a population, particularly one that exists within an environment controlled by a more dominant culture. (The original and now obsolete definition of the term *ethnic* was a person who was either a heathen or pagan; that is, a person who was ethnic was not a member of the dominant Judeo-Christian religious structures.)

Ethnicity is a foundation component of multiculturalism, which includes considerations of gender, social class, and all other societal categorizations that can be applied to human society. Developing a multicultural view furthers an understanding of the extent of prejudice that exists today. After all, we are a nation and a world dominated by diversity. As such, there are diverse targets for prejudice and its offshoots. Thus, ameliorating the effects of ethnic prejudice requires us to learn to understand that diversity.

How Is Ethnic Prejudice Defined?

Prejudice is a positive or negative belief held about a concept, object, individual, or group. Attitudes are expressions of that belief. Ethnic prejudice is a negative belief about an individual or group that is justified on the basis of skin color or other physical characteristics, or on behaviors or beliefs common to a group that set it apart.

Negative prejudice need not be a bad thing. For example, pronounced negative beliefs about drug abuse are not necessarily inappropriate and, in fact, may lead a person to help improve the lives of other people. However, animosity toward a person who uses cocaine simply because he or she uses drugs and against cocaine users as a population implies ignorance of the causes and effects of drug abuse and a dehumanization of people who use drugs. Prejudice against individuals who use drugs abusively can be as destructive as racism that targets a person of color or differing national origin.

Positive prejudice need not be a good thing. For example, individuals with extreme positive attitudes that White people are superior typically elevate a narrowly defined segment of people with white skin to an exalted status. At the same time, their feelings of supremacy are interwoven with negative prejudice against categories of people who do not have white skin. Those negative prejudices are extended to encompass people and organizations who do not uphold White supremicist ideals. In such a case, a positive prejudice may lead to destructive attitudes and behaviors.

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Allport (1954/1979) evaluated the many definitions of *prejudice* and how they came about. Acknowledging that definitions have changed over time, he noted that the common characteristics of positive and negative prejudices are prejudgment, intensity of belief, and inflexible support for that belief, even in the face of knowledge that demonstrates its inaccuracy or inappropriateness.

Irrationality Marks Prejudice

Allport (1954/1979), Pettigrew, Frederickson, Knobel, Glazer, and Ueda (1982), Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964), and others have noted that irrationality and a failure to recognize shared humanity are inherent in all prejudice.

> Prejudice clearly vitiates this norm [of rationality] with its overgeneralizations, prejudgments, and a general denial of individual differences. The norm of human-heartedness enjoins us to accept other groups and individuals in terms of their common humanity, regardless of who they are and how different they may be. Virtually all major religious and ethical traditions invoke this norm, and in secular American thought it appears in "rooting for the underdog." With its hostility toward outgroups, prejudice also vitiates this norm. (Pettigrew et al., 1982, pp. 2–3)

It is both natural and necessary for human beings to organize the information they take in from their environment. One of the processes that underlies this learning is categorization. Categorization is a rational but unconscious activity based on logically identifying real similarities and, later, differences perceived through experience. We learn that birds have wings and fly, that there are different kinds of birds, and, eventually, that although all birds share many physical and behavioral characteristics, not all birds have operational wings and not all fly. Thus, we have eagles and wrens, and kiwis and penguins.

In ethnic prejudice, the bigot categorizes people and actions based on criteria. It is difficult for people who do not share that prejudice to understand. The bigot resorts to rationalizations to justify his or her prejudice and actions, providing evidence that is typically based on partial truths, rumors, the behavior of isolated individuals within a population, and even outright lies. A prejudiced person may say that he or she has the courage to express what everyone else believes but will not openly express, laying claim to wide social support even in its absence. Faced with evidence that disproves his or her beliefs, the bigot will claim that the evidence against the belief is manufactured. Argument in the face of prejudice is inevitably circular. The irrationality of a prejudice cannot be disproved because it is irrational. A prejudiced person *must* continue to believe as he or she does to maintain his or her perception of status and to justify his or her actions.

How Is Prejudice Expressed?

When individuals who hold ethnic prejudice are inhibited from its overt expression by social and cultural pressures, and when they confine their beliefs to thoughts alone, their prejudices are usually not of interest to other people. There are at least two reasons for this lack of interest. First, individuals raised in an environment of free thinking and individual rights do not necessarily concern themselves with what other people think; being human, they typically care only about what other people do that affects them personally. Second, people's thoughts are not known until they are expressed in words or deeds.

People all around us and we ourselves may be unaware that ethnic prejudice exists until some event demonstrates it. It is this acting out—when thoughts become words and words become deeds—that is of the most immediate concern to society as a whole. Feelings of ethnic prejudice tend to become more intense over time, and the means of expressing prejudice also become more overt and aggressive.

Prejudice can be communicated verbally, in written form, through social mores, through the legal system, or through any means that society as a whole permits or that individuals will tolerate. The degree of interaction with society and action against a target varies, and although one form may occur in the absence of others, it is common for several to occur at once.

The difference in extent of impact between prejudice expressed by an individual and that expressed by a group of individuals is an underlying factor in determining the impact of prejudice on a targeted individual or group. One individual's act of prejudice against another individual may cause harm to the victim, but is likely to have a limited impact on a targeted population as a whole. When a group holds a prejudice and acts on it, the impact is more wide ranging and difficult to control in relation to the harm done to the targeted population. Finally, when prejudiced individuals attempt to act on their beliefs within a social group or society that does not tolerate prejudice, targeted individuals are likely to be protected by both social and legal defenses. A society that tolerates prejudice, that does not recognize the potential for harm, or whose members are "fellow travelers" offers neither social nor legal protection to targeted populations.

Targeting

Bigots select or target individuals and groups for attack. To be targeted, it is necessary that a person or group be perceived as differing from a preconceived norm that has been either established by society or developed

in the mind of a prejudiced individual. Any person or group may be distinguished by many characteristics, ranging from physical characteristics and abilities to social characteristics to national or geographic origins or places of residence. Any characteristic may serve as a provocation for bigotry. To be a target, one only needs to be different.

The Role of Tolerance and Fear

It is the responsibility of both society and individuals to discriminate between upholding a belief in freedom of expression of ideas and tolerating forms of expressing belief that do harm—a task that must be approached with temerity but nevertheless approached. It is not possible in this volume to discuss issues of constitutionality of freedom of expression or what is "right" and "wrong" related to prejudice. However, it is appropriate to say that a society, any civilized society, has two means for imposing limitations: social pressures and institutionalized systems.

Let us assume that a society is a democracy with a belief structure incorporating the principle that every individual has a right in principle and under the law to believe as he or she wishes, for example, to hold a belief that monarchy is the best form of government. However, because the majority of the society does not believe in monarchy, social and legal limits are imposed that prohibit acting on the desire to change the accepted form of government from a democracy to a monarchy. However, in the event that the majority of society should come to believe in a monarchy, it might well come to pass that a monarchy would be established in place of democracy. In this example, the issue is not one of "right and wrong"; rather, it is one of what society tolerates and as a whole comes to accept.

An individual's prejudices are not necessarily of concern as long as there are individual and social pressures that inhibit acting out prejudice in a harmful way against another person either directly or indirectly. Thus, ethnic prejudice raises issues that go beyond one's right to believe and express belief. The overt acting out of prejudice tends to escalate when the rest of society reinforces an individual's sense of freedom to act. Reinforcement is given in two ways: through tolerance and out of fear.

In a society such as the United States, which upholds the right to free expression, intense controversy exists around whether to limit and, if limits are imposed, how to limit expressions of prejudice and the potential for harm to the group against which that prejudice is held. Most states have some form of law or set of laws that can be used to combat prejudice-related violence (e.g., there may be state as well as federal civil rights laws, it is possible to use laws related to assault, arson, etc., in enforcement), and where formalized hate-crime laws exist, few have faced the test of constitutional challenge. However, although the federal and state laws and legal systems

may differ, they generally uphold the constitutional right to freedom of expression. There have been some rulings on individual cases at the local, state, and federal levels that upheld the rights of communities to restrict sales of pornography to specific areas of a town, limit the right to assemble to demonstrate by specifying special demonstration permits, restrict or permit religious displays in public places, and so forth. However, despite the laws and the stipulations and rulings of the courts, there are always people who disagree with both the concept of absolute freedom to express any idea in any way and those who believe in draconian regulations.

As with any belief, when expression of ethnic prejudice is tolerated by the rest of society (whether directly or through an unwillingness to acknowledge the existence of prejudice), people who openly hold the belief begin to act on it, speaking out and acting out against the target group. They influence youth whose minds are unformed and individuals predisposed to act out against targeted groups. As is the case for any belief, bigotry can change society as a whole. Prejudiced individuals can band together in organized movements, deriving courage and support from numbers. Prejudices expressed by the few may be held by many others who do not wish to openly express them. The bigots may gain sufficient power to change society. Laws may be written that set the targeted population apart for special treatment, and the bureaucracy may take over. Thus, what was once perceived by most citizens as the harmless belief of a few becomes at the minimum a tolerated behavior or at the maximum a standard accepted by society as a whole.

Tolerance is not the only issue. It is a reality that political power represents the ability to act out in an organized fashion against those who do not agree with one's politics. In the presence of political power and the absence of limits on acting out against those who do not believe as those in power do, people who perceive themselves as powerless may tolerate social and physical violence against others to protect their own well-being. Survival behaviors take over.

Fear combined with disbelief becomes a factor in allowing prejudice to take hold. In a society where citizens perceive themselves as tolerant and nonviolent, individuals may find it difficult to believe that any one individual or group of individuals with the same history and culture can hold such extreme prejudices that they are willing to do physical harm to any and all who do not agree with them. As the violence progresses, it gains momentum first from the disbelief of nonparticipants, and, as time goes on, from their fear for their own well-being and the well-being of their family and life's accomplishments. This is a human and quite natural reaction, and each of us has a limit as to how long we can stand against a full-blown storm.

Post-World War II Nazi Germany is the most frequently cited model of potential harm from prejudice and the extremes to which a particular regime

might be able to go in its expressions of prejudice. Lack of tolerance of Jews and individuals who were not ethnically German can be found throughout German history. Crippled in the aftermath of World War I by deep economic depression, with social behaviors in place that already tolerated prejudice and, ultimately, in the presence of normal human unwillingness to believe in what could happen, Germany as a society tolerated the rise of Nazism. In time, many otherwise rational and tolerant people behaved as if they believed as the Nazis believed. At the same time, despite Hitler's own words and numerous events demonstrating his regime's intentions, the world witnessed the growth of Nazi power within German borders and tolerated its expansion beyond its borders. Germans and non-Germans turned seemingly blind eyes to the violence against resisting German citizens, Jews, gypsies, the mentally and physically different, objects of traditional prejudices such as Slavic peoples, and other targeted populations until it was too late. Even today, despite the extensive evidence, living witnesses, and living examples of similar contemporary societies, there are those who do not believe death camps existed under Nazi Germany. Irrationality, tolerance, fear, ignorance, and history all play a part in prejudice.

Expressions of Prejudice

Once targeted, individuals and populations may be subject to verbal, social, and physical attacks. Each person with prejudice expresses that prejudice in a way unique to him or herself. At the same time, there is a tendency for both the feelings of prejudice and its outward expression to escalate in intensity. It is also the case that once overt expression of prejudice begins, each progressively more overt and violent form of expression incorporates the other. What begins as a spoken attack can, in the presence of tolerance and ignorance, escalate to the most extreme forms of physical violence.

Verbal Attacks and Avoidance

Verbal attacks and avoidance begin as forms of personal social segregation. Open verbal expression of prejudice (what Allport [1979] called antilocution) typically occurs among and between those with similar prejudices, in the presence of those who are willing to allow the expression of the prejudice, and sometimes in the presence of strangers. We are all familiar with ethnic jokes, remarks based on ethnic stereotypes, and other verbal expressions of prejudice that occur and are tolerated in social situations. A prejudiced person interprets tolerance as acceptance and support, and may seek to

convert others or impose beliefs on a group. Lacking support or being unable to create support, the bigot will seek out those who share his or her beliefs.

A prejudiced person may go to great lengths to avoid social contact with a target population and may even avoid using common facilities. At times, a person with prejudice against a particular group may go to extreme lengths (e.g., selling a home, leaving a city, changing jobs) to avoid contact with the object of his or her prejudice.

One cannot be deceived into believing that verbal expressions of prejudice and avoidance, however they may be labeled by the experts, are harmless because they do not appear to do direct damage to the target group. Verbal expressions of prejudice are often ignored by those who are not targets. Few people choose to confront a person telling ethnic jokes or making offensive comments about a target group. Those who hear spoken prejudice may not wish to disrupt a social function, may fear alienating people, or may consider such comments harmless because no harm appears to be done directly to a person or group.

However, when untruths are spoken often enough, to some people they begin to sound like the truth. If it is acceptable for one or two individuals to attack or avoid a specific group, might it not become acceptable for everyone to behave similarly? Once the cycle of tolerance and acceptance begins, many or all persons of one group—perhaps in sufficient numbers to have political impact—may come to believe that it is appropriate under all circumstances to segregate themselves (or segregate others) to avoid contact.

In the past in so-called civilized societies (Western or Eastern), regardless of the prejudices felt, open expression of prejudices outside one's social group often was looked on as inappropriate. For example, it was perfectly acceptable to cushion oneself from human feeling by believing that the "peasants" were capable of only rudimentary thoughts and primitive emotions, but "gentlepersons" were not supposed to say so in the presence of peasants. It would be unkind. Thus, whether felt, spoken, or acted on, some kind of social stricture was imposed that limited overt expression of prejudice. One could own slaves, but could not discuss in polite society what that really meant.

Discrimination

Holding a belief and expressing it in the comfort of one's own circle are matters of personal choice and action. However, once it becomes socially acceptable to attack a group verbally or to segregate populations based on prejudices, the groundwork for institutionalized discrimination is laid. Discrimination is a combination of words and deeds. It is the deliberate, public attempt to deny one or more individuals access to some form of human endeavor (e.g., employment and advancement, travel, location, education,

recreation, access to public facilities and services, business, marriage, childbearing, free speech, and simple social interaction). It may be expressed by an individual (e.g., "I don't serve Indians in my restaurant") or institutionalized (e.g., a law prohibiting foreigners with active AIDS from entering the United States for medical treatment). A kind of societal paranoia finds expression in such attitudes (e.g., "The only good Indian is a dead Indian," "All Irishmen are drunkards," "The yellow menace is approaching from the East," "Would you want your sister to marry one?"). In the United States, at one time or another, discrimination has limited access of groups of individuals to housing, social services, specific professions, service in the military, and every other established or perceived benefit of U.S. society.

Some restrictions to rights and privileges of a society may be justified. For example, in a democratic society, the right to vote is both a privilege and a right. It is a privilege because the vote is not common to all people. It is a right of citizenship because a single vote can determine whether an official is elected or a law is changed; therefore, it is the people who have to live under the changes a vote can bring who should exercise that right. Therefore, only citizens can vote.

However, faced with a threat to economic, political, and social dominance, the established dominant group in a society may restrict access of other groups to what are defined as privileges or rights of citizenship, as well as general access to the benefits of a society. In the absence of checks and balances, when a group wishes to maintain control over a society, that group need only define restrictive criteria for determining who has a right. For example, voting might be limited only to those who own land or who could pay a special tax (a poll tax). Both requirements were common in the United States until the early and even the mid-20th century. Land in some parts of the country was held by a very small number of people, and primarily by men. Requirements of land ownership and the ability to pay poll taxes effectively denied the poor, most people of color, and women the right to vote.

Another classic example of discrimination is educational segregation in Western society. Both social standards and legal standards have limited access to education at one time or another. In the 19th century, it was common for the poor, women (regardless of class and circumstance), and people of differing color or national origin to be denied the right to read or become "too educated." This discrimination was generally accepted by the male majority who held power, because this ruling group believed that nonmale, nonpropertied, and colored people did not need to be educated to work in the factories and fields, to perform menial tasks, to bear children, and to serve as homemakers. This discrimination was found in most nations and societies, but to no greater extent than in the South in the United States.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries in the South, economically advantaged women were taught enough about reading to handle household accounts and bible reading, but were typically denied a full education by male heads of families. The poor had limited or no access to education because they lacked the resources to pay for schooling, in the absence of developed public school systems, and had to rely on all hands (even those of children) to maintain life. The denial of education for Blacks in general and slaves in particular was eventually institutionalized in the law; regardless of whether they were Black or White, people who broke the law could be severely punished. In addition, caring Whites who sought to educate people of color faced threats, isolation, economic pressures, and sometimes physical danger.

Over time, the introduction of public education has had a gradual impact on the educational level of the poor, and social standards have changed, improving women's access to education. However, to this point in the 20th century, despite attempts at reform, the denial of education to some segments of society is still enforced. It is still common in the United States for Blacks, as well as for Native Americans and the poor, to be denied free access to education. How? Such denial is typically subtle in form (e.g., lower funding for schools in communities where the poor and people of color are in the majority and the tax base is small). Educational discrimination continues because of uneven tax structures, degree of unfulfilled need, and a variety of social and governmental factors, often expressed in the guise of economics. Many school systems are poor, and many students are economically and socially disadvantaged. The 21st century will begin with these same circumstances in place.

Violence

Violence is tolerated in most societies either as a deterrent or a means of protection. Who does not accept the principle that when an armed intruder enters your home and threatens your child, your spouse, your parent, or yourself with physical harm or death one has the right to stop the intruder? Using the same logic, it is easy to extend the accepted boundaries for personal protection to encompass not only physical area, but also all points of social contact. Thus, violence is tolerated as an alternative means to resolve problems and, by extension, explained away when used to express fear and rage.

Once an individual or group of individuals targets a group or individual on the basis of ethnic difference, and when the social and psychological conflicts that arise are not resolved by peaceful means, aggression mounts. Given that a person who is prejudiced has already accepted the belief that the target of prejudice is not a valuable human being, the restrictions against acting out that prejudice are removed. Overt violence becomes an acceptable

means of expression. Violence can be personal or public, spontaneous or planned, aimed at property, or directed against one individual or against a category of individuals. Those who act out their prejudices in these ways accept the rationale that society as a whole uses to justify violence—self-protection and protection of property, as well as a solution to seemingly irresolvable social problems.

Violence and physical assault as expressions of prejudice have been treated ambiguously. Warfare and its group and individual violence, whether confined within tribal or national borders, whether defensive or offensive, is the ultimate example. The presumption is that the social mores that operate in a peaceful society will prevail in war. Lines of command may be disrupted by rogue commanders, but right and justice will prevail. Thus, we tolerate structures that create massacres such as that which occurred at My Lai in Vietnam, as well as the use of propaganda feeding on ethnic prejudice to inflame national prejudice and, as a result, intensify violence.

Where slavery existed in Western nations in the 19th century, it was acceptable for slave owners to beat or maim slaves who disobeyed or challenged established authority. At the same time, primarily on the basis that slaves were valuable property and sometimes because such actions were "un-Christian," the behavior of an individual slave owner whose extreme punishments resulted in permanent disablement or death of slaves was looked on as reprehensible and socially unacceptable within "good" society. The ruling social strata drew an arbitrary and wholly imaginary line over which a true gentleman or lady could not cross, while justifying certain actions on the basis of self-protection.

Similar patterns are found today. For example, it appears necessary to maintain a social construct at all costs, as in the religious conflicts raging between Moslem and Hindu sects in modern India, as well as tribal violence in Somalia, Ethiopia, and various African nations. Prejudices come to run so deeply, to be so ingrained in personal and social beliefs, that peaceful resolution and coexistence are not options. Any individual, group, or nation that attempts to intervene, even with an offer of mediation for conflict resolution, is looked on as an intruder and may become a target for violence.

In the United States, we would like to think that physical violence engendered by prejudice is rare, but there is evidence to the contrary. One only has to review the statistics on hate crimes prepared by federal and state agencies and groups such as the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Murders, bombings, conspiracies, arsons, assaults, cross burnings, threats, vandalism, and harassment are all too common. Some events are explained away as aberrant acts of a few twisted individuals. For example, on August 15, 1992, in Coral Springs, Florida, following an argument, a small group of youths beat Vietnamese

college student Luyen Phan Nguyen to death. During the argument, the youths—born long after the Vietnam War ended—called Nguyen a "gook" and a "chink" and made references to killing him off in Vietnam. The beating took place in the presence of more than 20 witnesses who did nothing to prevent or end the attack, or even to call the police. Was the beating of Rodney King, which took place in the presence of nonparticipating police officers, an aberrant act or was it the offspring of long-tolerated prejudice and violence? Were these and similar acts solely the responsibilities of "aberrant individuals" or examples of what can occur when a prejudice is shared, tolerated, ignored, or explained away?

Finally, there has been an increase in the number of hate groups throughout the United States and the world. Beginning in late 1992 and continuing into 1993, youthful neo-Nazi groups in the newly rejoined Germany have made organized attacks against groups of immigrants from Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Race riots involving Middle-Eastern immigrants have occurred in the last 2 years in urban areas of England. Serbs, Croates, and Moslems are slowly destroying each other in what used to be Yugoslavia.

Thus, the United States is not unique in experiencing an increase in one-on-one and group hate crimes. But, it is ironic that a nation supposedly built on diversity and equality should do so at all. A major concern on high school and college campuses across the nation is the number of prejudice-related acts that occur in educational institutions, as well as the increase in prejudice in general. A 1990 survey (Klanwatch, 1992) indicated that 17% of students surveyed would silently support involvement in prejudice-motivated acts, whereas 30% would actively participate; 5% were not sure, whereas 48% would try to stop such acts.

Hate crimes in general are rapidly rising. In the *Klanwatch Intelligence Report* of February 1992, the following statistics on hate crimes in the United States were reported. There were 273 named hate groups in the United States in 1990. By the end of 1992, there were 346—a 27% increase. Between 1990 and 1991, Klan groups increased from 19 to 97, and Skinhead groups increased from 160 to 203. Klanwatch received reports of hate crimes in 1991 as follows (percentages in parentheses indicate increases over 1990 occurrences): 101 cross burnings (100%); 1,110 hate-motivated attacks against Blacks and Jews in New York alone; 2,000 anti-Semitic crimes (18%); in Oregon, between January and June 1991, 249 incidents (46%); in Orange County, California, 96 incidents (380%). Hate-motivated murders rose 25%, from 20 in 1990 to 25 in 1991. Of the 51 identified suspects in the 1991 hate murders, 41 were teenagers; of those murdered, over half were in their teens or 20s.

It should be kept in mind that these figures do not represent all the hate crimes committed in the United States in 1991. Figures for 1992 are only now being compiled. It should also be kept in mind that many incidents

are not reported to state, federal, or private groups that gather statistics, and many crimes are not designated as hate crimes by victims or law enforcement agencies due to lack of evidence or simply the superficial nature of the crime.

Extermination

The organized extermination of targeted individuals is a natural outgrowth of tolerated, widespread acts of hate-related violence. Such a statement could be and likely would be disputed by most Americans (after all, it cannot happen here), but there are too many examples of what happens when a society comes to accept the presence of prejudice. The characteristics of such acts are well known: targeting, social acceptance of targeting, discrimination, disruption of normal life within the targeted group, seizure of property, creation of ghettos, wholesale deportation, enslavement, and murder by starvation, disease, or more overt methods.

The horrors of the death camps of World War II are what most often come to the contemporary mind. However, one can find examples throughout history: wholesale extermination of people living in the borderlands of Eastern Europe, burnings and hangings of Jews in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, inter- and intratribal warfare in many African nations from the 17th to the 20th centuries, the forced transport of the Cherokee nation and other Native American nations beginning in the 17th century, the enslavement of Black Africans by other Black Africans in collusion with Western Europeans and native people in South America by invading Europeans, the destruction of Native culture within the continental United States, and so on. If there are differences, they are matters of degree of organization and effectiveness.

Summary

Despite the disagreements among theorists, ethnic prejudice is easy to define: One human being develops an irrational hatred for another human being who shares the same biological origins and social equivalents. Due to tolerance, fear, and simple lack of involvement, ethnic prejudice can grow from a personal and internal hatred to a pervasive and institutionalized social structure. Prejudice may be expressed through words, avoidance, discrimination, and acts of violence that can even progress to efforts at extermination. The effects of prejudice can be controlled only by individual

beliefs and social structures dedicated to reducing or eliminating prejudice. Regardless, what must not be forgotten is that ethnic prejudice has victims on both sides. Bigots are the victims of their upbringings, experiences, and social environments. Victims of prejudice are the victims of individual hatred and societal tolerance and ignorance.

CHAPTER TWO

CHARACTERISTICS OF AFFECTED POPULATIONS: PEOPLE WHO ARE PREJUDICED

Key Concepts

- Prejudice reveals itself through social interaction and is generational in nature.
- Prejudice is an intrinsic part of the lives of the prejudiced, forming an underpinning for many, if not all basic life decisions.
- Like all beliefs, form and expression of prejudice is unique to each prejudiced person; however, many common factors contribute to the development of prejudice, including basic personality, upbringing, socialization, and stresses created by society.
- Learning not to be prejudiced is especially difficult because a belief system based on prejudice is self-reinforcing and all encompassing.

Terms

Denial	An unconscious refusal to acknowledge reality or accept responsibility
Externalization	Assigning responsibility or cause for an experience or feeling to outside forces; inappropriate externalization involves assigning responsibility for an event to a person or agency without the ability to control that event
Projection	Unconsciously ascribing one's own ideas, emotions, and behaviors to another person, particularly when those thoughts and feelings are undesirable
Scapegoating	Assigning the blame for a mistake or a harmful event to a person (or thing) who did not or could not cause the mistake or harmful event to occur

In medicine, one of the keys to combating infectious disease is identifying what is called the "index case"—the person, place, or thing in which the infectious organism first appeared and from which it spread into the affected population. Understanding the mechanism of infection and how rapidly a disease spreads are keys to learning how to prevent the disease and guard against further spread. Until the mechanism of infection is identified, physicians can only treat the symptoms; there is no possibility of cure. Classic examples of the value of finding the index case include the famous case of "Typhoid Mary" and, most recently, identifying the source case for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection in the United States.

Social scientists, physicians, theologians, historians, mental health professionals, and ordinary citizens—people from every science and every segment of society—have attempted to explain how prejudice begins and suggest ways in which it can be addressed. Some researchers have proposed that there are basic characterological faults that open the way to prejudice in individuals. Others have espoused that human beings are predisposed by nature to engage in class conflict and compete with other human beings for supremacy. In other words, the origin of prejudice and the behaviors of people who are prejudiced cannot be explained simply or expressed succinctly. It is likely that every personal characteristic and experience contributes to a person developing prejudice.

When an example of prejudice appears, the effort is sometimes made to identify the index case—to say that this or that person started it all. Seeking to assign guilt and find an easy explanation, people in effect view that person as a disease mechanism. For example, Adolf Hitler has come to represent the ultimate evil. The fact that many people in Germany and around the world shared the same beliefs and in one way or another supported Hitler's efforts is overlooked.

Prejudice has the appearance of an infectious disease when it appears in the guise of organized groups led by charismatic leaders who, in turn, seek out others to indoctrinate. However, answers to the questions surrounding how a leader or fanatic became a bigot are elusive, and any answers that are found can be misleading. Prejudice does not appear suddenly in a mind that is unprepared to accept it or spontaneously in the minds of a group of people.

This chapter examines some of the factors that contribute to the development of prejudice and the characteristics of people who are prejudiced. Addressing the needs of victims of prejudice is an immediate social and moral necessity. However, unless the nature of prejudice and its effects on people who are prejudiced are addressed, every effort to fulfill the needs of the victims will fail.

Moreover, people with prejudice are also victims of prejudice. Their lives set them apart from many of the people around them and may reduce their potential for making a positive contribution to society. The attitudes of other people, as well as the way prejudiced people view the world, make it difficult for people to learn not to be prejudiced. With society being what it is, the prejudices that people have are too often ignored. They become ingrained in a person's personality and behaviors. Thus, the underlying issue is not how to eliminate the influence and damage created by bigotry. Rather, it is how to eliminate bigotry itself.

Prejudice Is a Way of Life

As already defined in chapter 1, *prejudice* is a positive or negative belief held about a concept, object, individual, or group. Attitudes are expressions of that belief. Prejudice is an expression of an individual's understanding of how the world works. It is one of that person's tools for ordering life events in a way that provides explanations for those events and a rationale for how to approach life in the future. In other words, prejudice is an expression of a philosophy of life. Every human being has a philosophy of life, which is no more than the set of principles and guidelines by which each person chooses to live.

Prejudice is also a by-product of that philosophy in that living a particular way creates circumstances that are likely to reinforce one's basic beliefs. Consider the effects of having a prejudice. Suppose a person has a strong prejudice against red brick. If the town in which the person lives has buildings made predominantly of wood, stone, and concrete, avoiding red-brick buildings should be relatively easy. The individual can avoid those buildings by always traveling down streets on which there are no red-brick buildings. However, suppose that person has a life-threatening disease, and the only source of treatment is housed in a red-brick hospital. Suppose a restoration movement begins in the city, and every major building is given a red-brick front. Consider the conflict that would result. However nonsensical it might seem to other people, might it not be natural for the person who is prejudiced against red brick to feel victimized by a system that is out of control and that fosters the use and creation of red-brick buildings?

Having a prejudice against a particular group of people is essentially no different from having a prejudice against red brick. The prejudice may be totally irrational; nonetheless, it is a reality for the person who holds it. The person may become a "closet bigot," repressing feelings of prejudice and anger or disguising acts of prejudice in ways that are meant to make it

appear benign. It may be possible to move within a community in ways that eliminate the need to have contact with the target group. However, if the target group is large or its members provide essential services, avoiding contact may be difficult, if not impossible. The target group is an object of fear and aversion for the person with prejudice. Exposure to the group creates insecurity, anxiety, frustration, and distress in the prejudiced person. He or she will be left with the choice of living a lie, becoming completely isolated, moving, or, and this is society's concern, striking out against the target group.

In the end, the prejudiced person must choose. One option is changing the way the target group lives. The other option is changing the way the prejudiced person lives and, in that person's mind, perhaps having to settle for less than what he or she believes is an entitlement. Fear of change and loss may overcome any other impulse that the prejudiced person may have. Thus, a natural human reaction for some prejudiced people is to try to affect the lives of the target group.

The fact that attacks against the target group's way of life may bring ridicule or animosity does not necessarily serve as a deterrent. In fact, considering that a sense of powerlessness and fear of lack of status contribute to the development of prejudices, being the object of interest, even negative interest, may provide validation for a prejudiced person's actions by creating a kind of status he or she has previously not experienced.

In sum, if a person has a prejudice against objects commonly found within his or her community, many if not all of his or her decisions may be affected by that prejudice. It may be possible for the person to compartmentalize his or her prejudices, for example, avoiding contact with the target population in his or her personal life. It may be possible for him or her to be a "functional bigot" who, like a functional alcoholic who only drinks periodically, only manifests his or her prejudices in specific circumstances. Regardless, prejudice becomes a deeply ingrained, determining component of the prejudiced person's philosophy of life.

What Distinguishes Prejudiced People?

In a society where education is accessible and privilege is common, one would suppose that prejudice would be uncommon or at least confined to a small group of undereducated, socially limited, narrow-minded individuals. For example, some societies (e.g., Sweden and Denmark) are represented as being especially free of prejudice. However, most societies incorporate prejudice in many forms, and in many societies prejudice is tightly woven into the fabric of life.

In the United States, there is an image of prejudiced people being uneducated and blue collar. However, prejudice is not confined to specific groups that can be defined by age, gender, religion, race, culture, experience, education, society, or any other factor. There are no particular demographic characteristics common to prejudiced people. There are no physical characteristics that distinguish prejudiced people. Some do draw together in groups, wearing distinctive clothing and adhering to unique rituals, but most prejudiced people cannot be distinguished from other people. In most circumstances, their behavior may be what society calls normal and appropriate. They seem to be just like everyone else. Ultimately, we are able to recognize prejudiced people only by the words that they speak, the positions they take, and the deeds they do.

Characteristics of Prejudiced People

Prejudiced people exhibit characteristics and behaviors marked by rigidity and conflict, although the degree to which they manifest those characteristics and behaviors naturally varies from individual to individual and from time to time. Prejudiced people

- Desire rigidity in social order, institutions, family structure, and behaviors. In their view, a proper society incorporates an unchanging, orderly, hierarchical, conservative social structure.
- Advocate strict moralism, often supporting their prejudices based on their interpretation of what is and is not moral.
- Tend to have tunnel vision, focusing only on aspects of life that disrupt their vision of what is appropriate.
- Have little tolerance for change, especially change that appears to threaten their own status.
- Desire and sometimes actively seek power over others to combat their own sense of powerlessness.
- Are easily frustrated, especially when confronted with events that appear to undermine what they perceive to be their attained status.
- Become increasingly aggressive and often full of hatred toward individuals and institutions that appear to threaten their way of life.
- Are unable to evaluate their own behavior objectively and project personal faults, feelings of anger and violence, and all blame for failure and inappropriate acts to outside forces, frequently to the targets of their prejudice.

- Are attracted to and, for most purposes, require social structures and work situations that offer rigid structure and conformity.
- Attempt to explain away the irrational nature of their prejudice by using half truths, distortions, circuitous arguments, and any other tools available to them.
- Suspect anyone who disagrees with their beliefs of colluding with and on behalf of the target group to destroy them.

Research by Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) indicated that the ultimate fear of prejudiced people is not that the status of a target population will change; rather, it is that *their* status will change as a result of a target population's advancement.

Prejudiced people tend to externalize both their fears and their faults. For example, the ultimate fear fostered by segregationists (White and Black) during the movement for integration of schools was "race mixing," and White prosegregationists made a particular point of calling up the old stereotypes of Black sexuality. Integrated educational systems were described as sources of interbreeding and intermarriage between Blacks and Whites. This argument had some effect in arousing anti-integration demonstrations, because it struck at people's basic psychosexual insecurities in general. It also called up the old fears fostered by 19th century and Victorian morality, which still pervade our lives today.

The degree to which prejudiced people can rationalize their behaviors and attitudes is likely associated with the amount of guilt they feel. After all, they are human beings who are able to recognize the humanity of other individuals. To justify the irrational feelings of prejudice, people must seek reasons for their feelings. Denial, rationalization, and projection of their own faults and guilt onto outside sources (scapegoating) are the tools that prejudiced people use to resolve the conflict within themselves.

No evidence or logical argument appears to affect the beliefs of prejudiced people. Rigid personality structure reflects a profound degree of insecurity and denial. Prejudiced people typically have very low self-esteem and believe in their lack of worthiness; they practice self-hate unconsciously. Their failures and inadequacies become too great a burden for them to bear and, as a result, they turn their gaze outward to find an explanation. Thus, they target other people to serve as scapegoats. The degree of their self-hatred is likely reflected in the intensity of their hatred for the scapegoat group.

The paranoia that prejudiced people experience is profound. Prejudiced people fear they will lose their status or be blocked from advancing their status. Faced with disbelief on the part of others or any action that seems to question their beliefs, prejudiced people react with suspicion. They tend to disassociate themselves from people who are not prejudiced, seeking the comfort of shared beliefs. If a member of their social circle expresses doubts

about those beliefs, those doubts will create suspicion and may lead to the doubter being ostracized from the group (see section on organized prejudice).

Much of what has been said can be applied to many people. Denial, projection, externalizing blame, and other behaviors are common. However, as discussed in chapter 1, prejudiced people are distinguished by their feelings of ethnocentrism and their seeking after scapegoats. Prejudiced people tend to believe that their group and their group alone has the right to attain and retain status and privilege. Coupled with that belief is the need to find an individual or group to which they can assign blame—the target group.

Religion and Prejudice

Religion can form the basis of all social interaction. It provides rules of conduct and precepts on which decision making can be based. It also provides mechanisms for resolving guilt and means for giving restitution to individuals and society for harm done. Research has indicated that many individuals with stable religious beliefs tend to be more tolerant, altruistic, and open to diversity. As a tool for social organization and reinforcement of appropriate behavior, religion is unsurpassed. It is possible to argue that without religion in some form humankind would self-destruct.

However, by nature, the doctrines of organized religions are rigid and codified, as well as frequently explicitly discriminatory. It must be said that religious doctrines thereby offer many opportunities for rationalizing prejudice. Religious differences have been used as a justification for wars between nations and tribes, for restricting the rights and privileges of citizens and noncitizens, and for denying the succor of faith and the benefits of society as a whole to women, people of different races, and many others. The Spanish Inquisition, the destruction of Native peoples, jihads, the persecution of Jews in France and throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, the forced migration of the Mormons to the western United States, the internal war in today's Bosnia, fundamentalist movements of all kinds—there are many examples to be found throughout history and in almost every nation.

As is the case for most individuals or groups seeking justification for their actions, prejudiced people seek explanations for their beliefs within accepted social structures like religion. They may find support for their prejudices against a group because they do not follow a particular religion (e.g., "Jews killed Christ," "They are not true believers of Islam," "They are pagan savages"). They may find reasons for their prejudice against groups because they do follow religious beliefs (e.g., "They believe in polygamy," "Religion is the opiate of the proletariat"). Prejudiced people presenting themselves as "true Christians," "true Moslems," "faithful Hindus," and so on seek out individual passages from their documents of faith that appear to justify

their prejudices. They freely use those words out of context and in ways not condoned by the religions based on those texts.

Finally, because religion forms a significant component of any nation's social content, by using religion as camouflage for prejudice, prejudiced people may attract converts and influence by indirect means. Everyone has some degree of insecurity and desires stability and structure. If people suspect that their security or that of the social structure in which they believe is being threatened, they are vulnerable to claims that a specific group or individual is not only the source of that threat but also that taking action against that source is justified by their basic religious beliefs.

Moreover, prejudiced people may become even more resistant to rational thought in response to the conflict between their beliefs and the idealized beliefs of society and the interpretations most people lend to religious beliefs. That conflict feeds their insecurities, paranoia, and fear of change.

Thus, religion does play a role in prejudice. Basic tenets and structures lend themselves to misinterpretation and misuse.[2] The conflict created between human nature and idealized behavior, compounded by the expectations of society, serves to further aggravate resistance on the part of prejudiced individuals.

Organized Prejudice

In light of this discussion, it is easy to see why organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, Skinheads, Neo-Nazis, anti-government survivalists, paramilitary organizations, and others that incorporate prejudice thrive. Such environments offer rigid beliefs, restrictive disciplines, status, authoritarian structures, and like-minded people. They feed on paranoia and insecurity and offer a secure environment that does not challenge the ingrained intolerance of prejudiced people. Moreover, the leaders of such groups tend to be personifications of power and influence. In extreme forms, such groups constitute cults as powerful and influential on their members as any religion or other organized system of belief might be.

A desire to conform is a strong component of a prejudiced person's makeup. Being prejudiced sets a person apart from what he or she believes is the majority of society. However, a prejudiced person is a human being with all the needs of human beings—for reassurance, support, social interaction, and feelings of well-being. Being welcomed into a group that appears to be cohesive, organized, and accepting of a person's beliefs can be psychologically and emotionally overwhelming, especially to a young person.

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[2]It should be added that any codified statement of belief can be and is used in a similar way that religious documents and beliefs are used. The U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights are frequently cited as justification for the attitudes and actions of prejudiced people.

Moreover, if a person's belief system is not fully formed, finding others who share some of his or her beliefs allows the person to resolve conflict and ambiguities in that belief system. The constant need to confront his or her insecurities alone is removed.

Indoctrination

This brings us to two observations about prejudiced people: They are vulnerable to indoctrination and demagogy, and they are especially prone to mob psychology.

Although 20th-century society has assigned negative connotations to the concept of indoctrination, it is wise to remember what indoctrination really is: education. We are all subject to indoctrination. From birth, human beings are indoctrinated in how they should behave, what their history teaches them, who their friends and their enemies are or should be, why their society is best, and so forth. The imposition of social standards and beliefs is no more and no less than indoctrination. Thus, indoctrination is a necessary tool for the creation and maintenance of any society.

It is also true that indoctrination materials typically contain a mixture of fact, half fact, and outright fiction. It is an unpleasant truth that, both inadvertently and deliberately, history books, political writings, newspapers and the media in general, teachers, preachers, politicians, parents—every tool and every person involved in teaching children and others about the societies in which they live—use half fact and fiction to reinforce stereotypes and sometimes prejudiced standards that society advocates. The impact of indoctrination that reinforces and justifies beliefs is especially powerful when all other sources of information are either denigrated or made inaccessible. For example, examine the history of expansion by Whites across the U.S. continent and the actions against Native Americans that occurred throughout that expansion and into the early 20th century. From the early 18th century on, propaganda circulated that justified every action of settlers, the military, and the government, and there are still textbooks in use in our schools that present only the victor's side of the issue—Native Americans were the only ones who broke treaties, committed atrocities, refused to concede, and so forth, and the goals of White society were self-protection and the fostering of the greater good.

Racial and role stereotypes in general are present in many of the textbooks used throughout our educational system. Some school systems continue to use such texts "for economic reasons," ignoring the potential for conveying prejudice. Whether similar texts are used in other systems expressly because they contain stereotypical images is difficult to determine.

Elitism

One powerful aspect of indoctrination related to prejudice is fostering an image of elitism. Most human beings either believe they are special or spend their energies to become special. Organizations that espouse prejudice use information that reinforces feelings of persecution, paranoia, and specialness. Symbols, uniforms, special rites, secrecy, and other reinforcements are used.

If they are insecure and desirous of status and a sense of specialness, even people who are not prejudiced can be enticed into participating in such organizations. The combined reinforcement of their beliefs and their desires to be part of a social group that holds special status has an especially powerful impact on people who are already prejudiced.

Charismatic Leaders

The leaders of such groups are an additional factor in attracting and holding adherents. Group leaders entice believers and provide validation for fears and hopes and evidence that supports otherwise insupportable beliefs. Typically, these demagogic leaders have a kind of charisma and are skilled manipulators of crowds and individuals. They may be forceful individuals with excellent skills as speakers and debaters. Confronted by a group leader with this kind of personality and such skills, regardless of that person's faults or personal characteristics, individuals seeking acceptance and support for their beliefs are irresistibly drawn into participating.

Peer Pressure and Mob Psychology

The power of the desire to conform, group reinforcement, indoctrination, and charismatic leadership is further enhanced by peer pressure and a kind of mob psychology. When a member of the group expresses doubt or reluctance to proceed with an agreed on plan, the group applies a form of peer pressure. Individuals or the group as a whole may attempt to reinforce required beliefs. They may threaten withdrawal of companionship and support. The leader may bring to bear his (such leaders are typically male) powers of argument and personality and, if resistance continues, threaten to withdraw privileges or institute some form of punishment. The doubtful member, full of insecurity and fearing the loss of status and support, is likely to fall back into line with other members.

The combination of peer pressure and a person's beliefs can override other factors such as fear of punishment by society, loss of family ties, aversion to violence, and other social mores and behaviors generally accepted as appropriate. Prejudiced people repress a great deal of anger and frustration and, as noted before, are prone to act out their anger in progressively more

violent ways. Groups such as the Skinheads provide an environment that encourages their members to express their prejudices and their aggression. In this environment, either because of peer pressure or simply because the circumstances appear to give them permission to act on their beliefs, prejudiced people are more likely to act out and to act as a group.

Children and Prejudice

Children are the keys to the survival or termination of prejudice. Adults teach what they have learned to their children. If what they have learned is positive, uplifting, and welcoming of diversity, their children typically share those same attitudes. If what they have learned is prejudice, their children are likely to share the same prejudices.

There is little doubt that most children who have prejudiced parents tend to acquire those prejudices. In the close confines of a family in which one or both parents have rigid, authoritarian personalities, a child is likely to feel insecure and have a need to constantly prove his or her worthiness. It is also sometimes the case that such family environments include familial emotional or physical abuse, another source of feelings of anger and insecurity.

To earn any degree of acceptance, the child must be obedient. Any expression of disagreement or rebellion is likely to be greeted with anger or punishment. This kind of parental repression of the child, combined with the child's feelings of repressed anger, provides a fertile ground for the development of the insecure, needy personality that prejudiced people have. A process of indoctrination, rejection, acceptance, and reinforcement occurs whenever a child learns in such an environment. When parents are prejudiced, prejudice is what they teach.

Children who develop insecure, aggressive personalities may learn prejudice outside their home as well. If the children feel repressed and dominated within the home, they may seek release and acceptance elsewhere. They may be exposed to prejudiced people or have experiences that promote the development of prejudice. They are exposed to prejudicial stereotypes in the media and prejudices experienced by their peers. If the children are prejudiced, those prejudices are likely to receive reinforcement from many sources. For example, if another child receives a better grade, children who are not prejudiced may be disappointed or even angry; they may even develop a dislike for the individual who got the grade. However, if they are not prejudiced, they will not transfer that anger to all people like the child who got the higher grade. Children who are insecure and have been

taught or have a tendency toward prejudice may react very differently. These children may see favoritism in the grading system and find a reason for that favoritism. Other children may share the same prejudice toward the child that receives a better grade, which appears to validate their feelings. The prejudiced children may pick out some physical characteristic that the targeted child may have (e.g., skin color) or social characteristic (e.g., a wealthier family). Thereafter, any child (and, eventually, any adult) with that characteristic becomes a target for the children's prejudice.

If parents have raised a child who is desperate for self-identity and a sense of self-control, even in a home where it is assumed prejudice is not being taught, the child's parents may inadvertently provide reinforcement. There is an element of rebellion in all children, whether they are secure or insecure. If parent's express outrage, threaten punishment, and attempt to "reprogram" the child, the child may see that as a gaining of control and identity. Moreover, the very nature of the prejudiced personality mitigates against change even in a young child.

Out of a need for acceptance within the family or within the group that the child most values, even a disbelieving child will feign acceptance of prejudice. Over time, the act becomes a way of life, and feelings of prejudice begin to dominate the child's life. Confronted by a larger society that does not hold the same beliefs, the child grows into adolescence even more isolated and frustrated, which in turn encourages the development of stronger prejudices and more extensive rationalizations.

In the end, prejudiced parents are likely to raise prejudiced children who grow into adults who have children to whom they teach those same prejudices. Parents who are not prejudiced can raise children in ways that encourage those children to become prejudiced. When the children become adults, they raise their children to share that prejudice. Thus, prejudice is generational.

Can Prejudice Be "Unlearned"?

People who are the least prejudiced are people who are secure, respectful of individuals and groups, tolerant and open to liberal ideas, empathetic, insightful, flexible and open to change, and capable of accepting and assigning guilt appropriately. They are educated not necessarily in terms of having advanced degrees in philosophy or even a high school education, but in terms of humanistic values. They have learned to believe in shared humanity and equality, and equanimity of opportunity and treatment. Tolerant people are markedly secure in themselves and open to diversity.

Given the inflexible, irrational nature of a mind conditioned to be prejudiced, unlearning prejudice is difficult. Researchers and professional counselors have long recognized that prejudice is no different from any other belief

and behavior system. The difficulty involved in unlearning such a system is in proportion to the degree to which it has become ingrained. Denial, fear of change, insecurity, rigidity, and deeply ingrained behaviors present major roadblocks to learning.

Still, most people are capable of learning new behaviors if they become committed to doing so. Change begins when a prejudiced person sincerely questions his or her belief system. Each person will take this step at a different time in his or her life and in response to different stimuli. Relearning is incremental, incorporating the learning of positive attitudes toward the target group and restructuring of the overall belief system of the individual. Relearning also depends on the nature of the environment in which a prejudiced person lives. If the person maintains old relationships, follows the same behavior pattern, and in general makes no substantive change in the actual way that he or she lives, the conflict between the desire for change and the fear of change and its repercussions can be massive. Unlearning prejudice requires a person to sacrifice a sometimes significant portion of life as he or she knows it. It also requires patience on the part of the learner and the teacher.

Summary

Although it is possible to have prejudices and yet function effectively in society, prejudice is an expression of a philosophy of life that may, in its most extreme forms, affect every decision a prejudiced person makes. Prejudice acts as a self-reinforcer and tends to be passed on from generation to generation.

Because their personalities and behaviors are marked by a desire for rigidity, strict moralism, intolerance for change, frustration, aggressiveness, and irrationality, prejudiced people are difficult to reeducate and have difficulty relating to people who do not share their prejudices.

Institutionalized beliefs, such as religious creeds, by nature tend to be discriminatory and offer a fertile ground for justification of prejudices. Moreover, when people with prejudices enter environments designed to organize and exploit those prejudices, elitism, peer pressure, and mob psychology may lead to extreme violence.

Being impressionable and vulnerable to fears of loss, children are highly likely to acquire the prejudices presented by their parents, the media, and their peers. Once ingrained, prejudices are overcome only with difficulty due to the denial, paranoia, rigidity, and intolerance that mark prejudiced people. Relearning requires an incremental approach that incorporates posi-

tive attitudes toward the targets of prejudice and a restructuring of prejudiced people's overall belief systems.

There is no universal cure for prejudice. There is no vaccine other than knowledge combined with patience that will prevent the infection. The prejudiced person experiences the same emotions and seeks the same kind of resolution that every person seeks.

Becoming prejudiced is not a conscious choice. Rather, it is an unconsciously developed means for resolving personal conflict. Overcoming feelings of prejudice requires a person to learn new ways to resolve that conflict. At the core of the learning process is recognition that all human beings experience similar emotions and make similar choices in their lives, and that basic human heartedness underlies positive human action. The difficulty for those who are attempting to reeducate people with prejudice and enable them to play a more positive part in society is this: We must find ways to lead prejudiced people to question their beliefs and willingly engage in the difficulty and stresses of the relearning process.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARACTERISTICS OF AFFECTED POPULATIONS: PEOPLE WHO ARE THE TARGETS OF PREJUDICE

Key Concepts

- Ethnic prejudice has psychological, emotional, and physical effects on its victims.
- Each victim will react as an individual, but most victims share some of the same behaviors, which range from a sense of frustration to anger to apathy to self-hate.
- Victims may suffer from several forms of victimization, ranging from primary victimization (the direct attack and its immediate effects) to secondary victimization (through direct and indirect obstacles to finding help and support after the attack).
- The effects of victimization are wide ranging and self-perpetuating.

Key Terms

Internalization	Acceptance of responsibility for causing an event; inappropriate internalization involves accepting the responsibility and guilt for events outside of one's control
Primary victimization	Initial psychological and physical act of abuse
Secondary vicitmization	Negative experience in working through the system to obtain psychological and physical treatment, social services, and legal recourse

To understand the victims of ethnic prejudice, one must understand that prejudice is a form of abuse that is expressed in a variety of violent acts directed at the psychological and physical existence of the target. Abuse can take the form of both emotional and physical violence, including but not limited to persistent and consistent denial of humanity, denial of employment, deprivation of opportunity for growth, numerous other kinds of short- and long-term psychological violence, physical assault on people and property, and even murder. Such actions are forms of primary victimization.

In addition, victims of prejudice may experience what is called "secondary victimization," which encompasses the traumas experienced while they attempt to obtain support and legal recourse after being victimized. The combination of primary and secondary victimization can have significant effect on even the strongest individuals.

Prejudice leaves its mark on its victims in the form of damage to self-esteem and emotional scarring, in addition to any physical harm done by actual physical attacks. Reactions of victims of prejudice vary on an individual basis but, at the same time, often result in similar behavior. When faced with physical and emotional abuse, targets must develop defense mechanisms and behaviors to protect physical and emotional existence and ensure fulfillment at some level.

Self-image and defense mechanisms are both individual and generational. They are developed by individuals in the context of the social patterns enforced by society. As is the case for most social behaviors, adults then teach children to work within society using those same behaviors. Moreover, attitudes are self-perpetuating. Children raised by and around adults who lack self-esteem and are self-hating are likely to show the same lack of self-esteem and self-hatred. In 1969, Clark wrote:

> The point of maximum vulnerability for the individual human being is the present. Every day that a child is subjected to the unnecessary bombardment of racial prejudices, every day that a child is forced to be an accessory to an injustice inflicted upon another child, every day that a child is forced to bear the brunt of the stigma inherent in being rejected and humiliated because of his race, is a day when our society is failing to fulfill its responsibility to these children and is contributing to their distortion and debasement. (p. 138)

When children choose to break those patterns of behavior, the stresses created by prejudice are further exacerbated by intergenerational conflicts within a target population. Thus, victimization by prejudice long endured results in a cycle of victimization. One of the major challenges of any effort to ameliorate the effects of prejudice is breaking this cycle.

Contributing Social Factors

Co-existing social factors exacerbate the effects of prejudice on individuals. The victims of prejudice are typically set apart socially and physically. Segregation and discrimination are continuing realities.

Ignorance of ethnic diversity is common because there is limited interaction between ethnically diverse groups or individuals. Much of the interaction that does occur takes place in limiting environments such as the work place or school. Lack of interaction between diverse groups permits the development of misunderstandings about differences that exist between groups and fosters the growth of unfounded prejudices on all sides.

Discrimination against and pervasive poverty among many target populations, including Native Americans, have resulted in urban, suburban, and even rural ghettos. Although today's ghettos lack the walls that set apart 15th-century European ghettos, they tend to be visibly marked out by poor housing, limited facilities, and generally poor living conditions. Their existence is perpetuated by continuing poverty, limited access by the population to educational and work opportunities, and often exploitation by employers, absentee landlords, merchants, and criminals. Victims of prejudice are also exploited by members of their own population through gang violence, fostering of substance abuse, individual acts of violence, and so forth. Dysfunctional and broken families both contribute to and result from these environments. Moreover, a basically self-perpetuating cycle of dependence on welfare systems has developed, under which poverty makes it a necessity to use the system and the system directly or indirectly forces limitations on earnings, opportunity for change, and improvement of home life.

Finally, although achievement brings access to broader opportunity and affluence, it does not protect one from prejudice. A person may attain success after living in poverty and ignorance, maintain a solid middle-class existence, or live in the upper class. However, even an exalted economic or political status does not prevent discrimination in employment, community participation, and social interaction; bigots are blind to marks of achievement. As noted in chapter 2, bigots explain away success as being either artificially supported or a major exception to the rule. For the bigot, a targeted individual or population always remains a target.

Thus, continued denial of rights and ignorance maintain the environments in which prejudice can grow. At the same time, the destructive effects of prejudice on its victims have even greater impact due to the lack of opportunity to change and the emotional and psychological harm done by continual and continued deprivation.

Issues of Control

As is the case for all humans, targets of prejudice must decide who or what has control over their lives (i.e., where the locus of control lies). The impact of victimization is directly influenced by people's sense of self-determination.

People with well-developed self-esteem, self-understanding, and opportunities to act on personal choices typically are able to recognize the difference between what can and cannot be controlled by them. When confronted by failure due to their own inadequacies, they accept an appropriate level of responsibility for that failure. They do not accept the claims and accusations of bigots as being true, nor do they take on the role of deserving victims and accept responsibility for the actions of bigots. Their self-esteem remains intact, although over time continual blocking of their efforts to succeed and repeated attacks by the prejudiced may cause them to be under stress and to experience rage, frustration, hopelessness, and so forth.

People with less well-developed self-esteem tend to inappropriately assign fault. If people believe that the power to influence life events rests outside of their control and, at the same time, believe that failure results solely from their inability to meet the demands of that outside control, they are internalizing fault. When confronted by failure or crisis, these individuals accept all feelings of blame and guilt, even though there was no means by which they could have changed what happened. Over time, people who internalize fault typically become progressively more passive and self-hating.

Effects of Perception of Control

Individuals who internalize fault related to prejudice blame themselves for being targets. They may strive to conform to the behaviors demanded of them by prejudiced individuals—to acquire the characteristics and symbols of status of the dominant culture such as money, higher education, material possessions, and so forth. However, because the foundations for prejudice are irrational and incorporate criteria for success that cannot be met by the target (e.g., changing their race), the target individuals' already low self-esteems suffer further damage due to internalization of blame and guilt and continuing acts of prejudice. In time, these target people may become self-victimizers, fully internalizing the negative prejudice of their attackers.

At the opposite extreme, one may find those who feel that they have absolutely no control over events. They externalize all blame and guilt, rationalizing all personal failure as being caused by external forces. In the

case of victims of prejudice who externalize blame, they may be unable to differentiate between the inequities created by actual bigotry and the ordinary limitations in ability and randomness of choice in, for example, employee hiring practices. Regardless of circumstances, fault may be assigned to "the system" or to a specific population. Thus, victims of prejudice may become prejudiced against another group based on the behavior of a minority of individuals within that group.

Behaviors Resulting from Victimization by Prejudice

Behaviors developed by the victims of prejudice can be helpful or harmful. Each behavior can be associated with self-esteem, self-expression, and goal recognition in relation to degrees of freedom, frustration, and fear experienced in the face of prejudice. Over time, individual victims may demonstrate aspects of many of these behaviors. However, the degree to which the victims internalize or externalize fault will govern their ultimate responses to prejudice. Some typical behaviors are described below.

- Denial of group membership, which may include denial of origins, striving to cast off characteristics of the group of origin (language, culture, physical characteristics), and isolation from family and friends who are group members. Denial of membership may create feelings of guilt. Such behavior is self-destructive because it may cut victims off from their family groups and heritage and lead to a loss of identity.
- Prejudice toward people who are not group members, which may be directed against groups perceived as being in power (whether that group demonstrates prejudice against the victim's group), against another minority perceived as a threat, or even against segments of the victim's own ethnic group. The victim does not obtain desired status from a group perceived as being in power and reacts by using prejudice as a justification for prejudice or, in seeking some form of status, targets another group for prejudice to gain a sense of power and worthiness. Thus, the victim of bigotry may become a bigot.
- Increased aggression and antisocial behavior expressed verbally or physically and targeting members of their own group or other groups. This activity may include stealing, gang behavior, exploitation of others, and physical attack.
- Suspicion of others, sometimes to the extent of becoming paranoid. In the face of prejudice and discrimination, all attitudes and actions on the part of others may become suspect. Having a realistic perspective

about the motivation of others is beneficial when one is trying to make decisions based on the behavior of others. At the same time, suspicion can lead one to turn away from opportunity or even to reinforce the prejudice of a person making a genuine effort to provide assistance.

- Competitiveness and enhanced striving. These characteristics may lead the victim of prejudice to academic and business success. However, when faced with continual barriers and frustrations, a person who is both highly competitive and making the supreme effort both to succeed and to confront prejudice may develop emotional and physical problems due to stress.
- Strengthening of in-group ties. Developing stronger ties with family, culture, and people with similar interests can enhance one's ability to enjoy life as well as to confront the inequities of life. In this way, when drawing closer to family and to other victims and potential victims, the target of prejudice may regain a sense of self-respect and an understanding of the options open to improve the situation. However, some targets of prejudice cut themselves off from contact with groups other than their own group and allow their anger and frustration to become a barrier to healing their own wounds and to overcoming the bigotry of which they were victims.
- Sympathy with all victims. Again, this response to victimization can be either helpful or harmful. Being able to sympathize with other victims of prejudice leads to learning from the experiences of others, as well as to sharing one's own experiences. The support gained from knowing that others sympathize with and understand one's own experiences can help a victim endure and overcome the effects of his or her experiences. A person may also be moved to work for change and improvements in the environment that led to the bigotry. However, sympathizing with all victims can mean being unable to differentiate between acts of bigotry and the ordinary stresses of life. All acts, good and bad, become suspect, and all people who belong to the target group are perceived as victims regardless of the circumstances.

Stress and Victimization

The emotional and psychological stress of victimization affects the physical well-being of victims of prejudice. It is common for victims to experience nervousness, extreme frustration and anxiety, irritability, fatigue, moodiness, and bouts of depression. Victims have a sense of constant threat and experience heightened tension when in challenging situations, even those not associated with acts of bigotry. As has already been mentioned, victims may

also show increased aggression, striking out sometimes irrationally against their families, friends, neighbors, strangers, and those whom they perceive as attacking them.

It is also true that some victims become apathetic, accepting life events without responding in any way, even when further victimized. They lose interest in their customary activities and in the lives of those people closest to them. Some victims experience intense boredom. They find neither pleasure, excitement, nor satisfaction in activities that may stimulate other people, and may seek out more intense experiences, even experiences that are dangerous, to relieve their boredom. The fact that some victims of prejudice experience guilt and shame—because they feel responsible for their own victimization or because they wish they were not members of the target group—adds to their unhappiness. Finally, because victims of prejudice feel so separated from the benefits of life and from the larger community, they may experience loneliness, indecision, and hopelessness.

The psychological and emotional trauma of victimization, coupled with low self-esteem and hopelessness, create fertile ground for drug and alcohol abuse, family violence, dropping out of school, and other destructive behaviors. Such patterns become self-perpetuating and develop into cycles of despair and destruction.

Finally, victims of prejudice also show physical signs of distress: increased incidence of high blood pressure, heart disease, stomach and digestive disorders, and cancer. For example, Black males have been shown to be especially prone to high blood pressure, and the incidence of cancer in Black urban communities is higher than the national average. A combination of factors creates this kind of disparity.

First, social factors that normally contribute to stress (e.g., limited family income) are compounded by the added stress of discrimination. Living conditions for many victims of prejudice are marginal at best. It is common for minority housing to be in deteriorating neighborhoods where homes contain harmful materials, such as lead paint and asbestos, and are often in locations near industrialized areas where potentially harmful chemicals and substances are present. Poor dietary habits are common due to lack of money for sometimes overpriced food and poor food quality. Public services of all kinds are often nonexistent or difficult to access.

Second, there is a deficiency in the delivery of medical and psychological services to minority populations. The damage done to the physical well-being of the targets of prejudice is exacerbated by inadequate initial care, as well as insufficient or nonexistent follow-up care. Psychological care is often inaccessible. The cost of care is also prohibitive, particularly for those who are without medical insurance, and uninsured individuals represent

a growing segment of low- and middle-income populations of all ethnic backgrounds.

Third, many individuals are reluctant to seek out help when they face a medical or psychological problem. They may lack resources to compensate for a lack of medical insurance, fear being singled out in their community as needing treatment, or deny their need for care due to feelings of inadequacy and failure.

These factors and others lead to prolonged and intensifed medical and psychological distress. Moreover, the size of the population needing services is sometimes difficult to determine and, even if there is a willingness to provide assistance, support is likely to be inadequate due to limited funding and staffing.

Effects of Physical Victimization

It is often the case that when we attempt to deal with the effects of prejudice, we either overlook or consider separately the impact on victims of physical violence perpetrated during acts of prejudice. In *Counseling Victims of Violence*, Brown (1991) categorized ethnic violence as a form of assault, along with elder abuse and hate/gay violence, and then referred the reader to chapters covering robbery, rape, sexual abuse, physical abuse of children, and murder.

Any physical attack has its effects. If the person has minor physical injuries, the treatment may be minimal and the physical effect short term. However, a major physical attack may require long-term care and rehabilitative therapy, and even mean the person has a permanent impairment. Thus, the trauma of physical damage alone may be extensive.

The psychological trauma of any physical attack is of equal and sometimes greater concern than the physical trauma. A person may experience a minor or even no physical injury but have an extreme psychological reaction. For example, if a man stalks a woman on the street to rape her and a passerby interrupts the attempt before the man does more than grab the woman by the arm, the woman may be little more than bruised. However, she may experience intense fear, feelings of paranoia, and many other forms of psychological reaction for some time.

Victims of prejudice-related violence demonstrate the same reactions to violence that any victim of street crime, family violence, and other forms of violent assault demonstrate. Whether native born or recently immigrated, they experience both primary and secondary victimization.

Psychological reactions to victimization can include:

General—

shock	denial
psychological numbness	dissociation
disorientation	repression
heightened sense of fear	sense of violation
posttraumatic stress	frustration with support service delivery

Specific by age—

Children	**Adults**
hyperactivity	nightmares
nightmares	paranoia
enuresis	
startle responses	

Specific to victims of ethnic violence—

feeling of being targeted
disillusionment with system of government and support

The effects on two specific groups are further compounded by social conditions. Recent immigrants may have limited understanding of the social service and legal systems in the country to which they have moved, and a lack of language skills may make it more difficult to communicate and understand. Homosexuals who are victims of hate crimes, as well as other crimes of violence, frequently have greater difficulty in obtaining support due to widespread homophobia and misunderstandings about homosexuality. With the added misconceptions about acquired immune deficiency disorder (AIDS) and HIV positive status, their difficulties in obtaining all forms of support have increased.

Brown (1991) noted several significant differences between ethnic violence and other crimes:

> [H]ate-motivated crimes usually involve more than one perpetrator. Other assaults usually involve one victim and one perpetrator. In most non-hate motivated crimes many victims know their perpetrator, whereas in hate crimes most victims do not know their perpetrator. In non-hate crimes, such as a property crime, something of value is taken, but in hate-motivated crimes, something of value is damaged or destroyed. . . . Victims of ethnoviolence report an average of almost two and one half times more symptoms than do victims of other types of violence and crime. . . . (p. 77)

Thus, individuals who attempt to counsel victims of ethnic violence and hate crimes must be prepared to address psychological and emotional trauma of ethnic prejudice, effects of trauma resulting from crimes of violence in

general, and the apparent compounding effect that occurs when the two forms of abuse are combined.

Summary

Targets of prejudice experience various forms of victimization. Social structures and conditions that tacitly foster socioeconomic segregation, individual and institutionalized discrimination, ignorance of ethnic diversity, and ingrained stereotypes foster prejudice and its ongoing effects. It is common for victims of prejudice to deny group membership, feel prejudices toward people outside their own group, experience increased feelings of aggression and antisocial behavior, and become suspicious of others. They may also become more competitive, work to strengthen in-group ties, and feel sympathy for other victims of prejudice. Victims of prejudice also experience more profound social stress, such as higher blood pressure, and numerous other physical effects.

Victims of prejudice also experience two forms of victimization: primary victimization (the actual expression of prejudice) and secondary victimization (the difficulties experienced while seeking redress within the criminal justice and support systems). Moreover, when victimization involves physical attack, loss of property, injury or loss of family members and friends, and other forms of loss, victims may have to overcome both physical damage and psychological trauma.

Bigots frequently claim that their targets are lacking in emotional maturity, exhibit self-destructive behaviors, have inadequate family structures, and, on the whole, do not have a culture capable of producing intelligent, contributing members of society. It is ironic that the effects of prejudice are used to justify that prejudice. Emotional distress, self-destructive behavior, dysfunctional families, restricted educational opportunities, aggressive behavior, physical distress—each victim of prejudice reacts to these effects in a unique but all-too-familiar way. Victimization leads to further victimization. The key to disrupting that cycle is overcoming prejudice itself.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEFINING A PREJUDICE-RELATED EVENT

Key Concepts

- Prejudice-related events have common characterisitcs and origins.
- Violence associated with prejudice-related events escalates.
- Young people are especially vulnerable to influences that lead them to participate in prejudice-related events.

A burning cross surrounded by white-clad figures, black-uniformed men herding women and children toward fenced enclosures, an aging White male with a Southern accent spouting hate on courthouse steps—these and similarly dramatic images are what come to most people's minds when someone talks about events motivated by prejudice. However, most prejudice-related events are not so blatantly open and easily recognized, nor are they so easily explained away as resulting from the actions of a few fanatics. Moreover, they do not "just happen"—time fosters the development of ethnic prejudice and the violence that is often associated with it.

This chapter discusses overt, often violent actions on the part of bigots or the targets of bigotry in which the psychological and physical well-being of individuals is threatened. A climate in which prejudice can come to the fore to direct events is created by a variety of factors, as well as by individual experience.

The discussion that follows is based on numerous reports and analyses of actual prejudice-related events. In particular, the reader is referred to the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (1968), prepared at the request of President Lyndon Johnson following the 1967 riots. The report's value lies in three contributions.

First, it places these earlier riots in their proper place along a continuum of action, of which the 1992 Los Angeles riots and the contemporary rise in hate crimes are a part. Thereby, it serves as a reminder that we are in the midst of an ongoing process.

Second, it provides a clear picture of the specific process that leads up to prejudice-related events. The steps leading to the Los Angeles riots appear to have mirrored the steps outlined in this report, and the climate existing in Los Angeles at the time is more than reminiscent of that which existed at the time of the 1960s riots.

The third component, recommendations for change, is discussed in the final chapter of this volume.

What Is Meant by "Prejudice-Related Event"?

For the purposes of this discussion, a prejudice-related event is defined as an event in which

1. verbal or physical assault is perpetrated by bigots against a targeted individual or group; or

2. a targeted group, employing verbal or physical assault, acts out in response to a perceived attack by individuals or groups, or by a social structure as a whole.

Note that both bigots and people reacting to bigotry are included in this definition.

Prejudice-related events may include threats, verbal and physical attacks, property damage, mob action, petty acts of harassment, and one-on-one fighting. The number of participants and the nature of attacks vary greatly. Events may be spontaneous or result from organized action. Time is not a factor. Events lasting 5 minutes may have an impact as long term and devastating as that of events lasting days.

Factors Fostering the Occurrence of Prejudice-Related Events

Freedom of Expression of Prejudice

Physical and verbal attacks related to prejudice can be initiated by bigots as an attack against a target group, by an individual or group from the target population, or by people who are against bigotry. The only element common to all events is a climate in which bigotry is tolerated and expressed, even by a minority of the population.

As discussed in chapter 2, the bigot perceives him or herself as having the right, if not the obligation, to express opinions against the target group. A bigot's actions may be covert, subtle, and spread over a long period or overt, blatant, and have an immediate effect. The form of expression may range from subtle pressures and harassment to demonstrations, personal attacks, and organized marches—any form of demonstration or expression of feeling or belief. Regardless, an expression of bigotry brings reaction from its target and, to some degree, from the community in which it occurs.

Open societies typically provide and people are expected to utilize socially acceptable tools (typically political structures) to accomplish changes related to how society operates. Partisan action for political and social change is perceived as acceptable as long as it is a benign expression of the desire for change and a peaceful, productive activity. Following the overt violence of the American Revolution, the people who formulated the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights practiced this kind of activism. Overwhelmingly White, male, propertied, successful, entrepreneurial, socially prominent, and, on the whole, well educated, they envisioned a society in which business, politics, and enlightened citizens would work to ensure progress. Freedom of

expression of ideas and the ability to act on those ideas were conceived of as foundation stones of that progress.

In practice, freedom of expression became and continues to be what might be called a "sticks-and-stones" philosophy—until bones are broken, words can be spoken. As a society, we purport to offer an environment in which anyone may express any idea, even if it offends. Although social and political limits have been imposed on some forms of expression (e.g., practicing child pornography), we basically adhere to the domino theory of expression (i.e., that limiting one form of expression may lead to limiting all forms of expression).

Both by chance and by choice, the open, peaceful expression of beliefs, which, if implemented, would result in limiting the freedoms of another person or group because of ethnic differences, has been and continues to be permitted on the principle of freedom of expression. Controversy surrounds laws and court rulings that uphold the right of bigots to express their beliefs. However, the right to express (as opposed to act on) prejudice is a fact of life. Thus, the question of whether a local clavern of the Ku Klux Klan has a right to provide a marching unit for a parade, hold a meeting in a civic auditorium, or picket a church with a mixed race congregation may become both a political and social issue that extends beyond local community interest and into national news.

Activism against bigotry may be equally controversial, thereby provoking prejudice-related events. During the 1960s, attempts were made through the legal system to prevent civil rights demonstrations. When those demonstrations appeared, both public institutions and private individuals acted out against the demonstrators. In some places, bigoted officials chose to ignore the law to permit the persecution of civil rights activists. In other places, the legal system was structured in ways that permitted persecution and prosecution.

At times, to those who oppose a particular form of bigotry, the system seems to work inappropriately on behalf of the bigot. If a neo-Nazi group is given permits to use a local campground for a peaceful meeting, the forms of protests allowed a group of local citizens who oppose the ideas represented and espoused by the Neo-Nazi group may be restricted by law. If that group attempts to blockade the roads leading into the campground to prevent the gathering, they may find themselves in trouble with the law at best, or engaged in an armed confrontation with the Nazi group at worst. Such confrontations provide fertile ground for tension and hatred that may grow into overt prejudice-related acts.

Just as bigots feel that their right to free expression is not limited to thought alone, so it is true of the targets of bigotry. In the normal course of events, targets of bigotry begin to react. Some targets may withdraw out of fear. Others may become activists on their own behalf. Still others may become

as bigoted and reactionary as their counterparts on the other side. Regardless, in the absence of common sense and rational behavior, everyone suffers.

In sum, open and subtle expressions of prejudice, the reactions of target groups, and the actions of antiprejudice groups create a vortex of irrational behavior and fear in which anything can happen. When irrational behavior and fear combine, anything will happen.

Perception of Threat to the Dominant Culture

People who feel threatened or who feel that their families or ways of life are threatened typically experience fear and act to protect themselves. When a specific culture dominates, anyone who differs from members of the dominant culture may be perceived as a threat. Perhaps the threat takes the form of competing for jobs and resources. Perhaps the new group's religion or customs differ markedly from that of the community as a whole. The threat need be neither real nor rational.

In some cases, despite being different and initially being subject to profound prejudice, a group may gain acceptance in the new society. As was the case with the Irish immigrants, over time the impact of differences on the dominant culture fades, and the group may be assimilated or the differences may be accepted by the dominant culture. Assimilation may mean that a minority group loses its unique characteristics, a result that is not necessarily to the benefit of the minority group. It may also mean that the differences the group has are accepted by the dominant group and are no longer perceived as a threat. In fact, such differences may come to be perceived as an asset to the minority group.

The degree of difference between groups is not necessarily an issue. People may have the same ethnic origin, color, religion, and numerous other shared characteristics. However, if there is only one difference (e.g., geographic origin), it may be the only characteristic that matters in the minds of those who develop prejudice.

If a person without prejudice perceives that a cultural conflict is developing, he or she may either dismiss the conflict as being irrational or choose to work toward a resolution that permits the dominant and minority groups to coexist. However, as discussed in chapter 2, some people's fears and lack of self-esteem are so intense that feelings of prejudice are ignited regardless of any effort to diffuse conflict.

The ultimate threat relates to change—change in a way of life, change in personal advancement, and change in status (Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964). Color, national origin, gender, or any other characteristic is a rationalized excuse for striking out at a perceived threat. Such reactions are particularly strong during times of rapid social change and economic crises.

The rising climate of racism among youth and adults in the United States today is a good example of cause and effect.

First, we must accept that there are few people who do not hold some form of prejudice against another group. That prejudice is too often conveyed to children and, indeed, is reinforced as they grow older by their parents and role models.

Second, significant changes are occurring in both the social structure and the mores of the nation, creating generational conflict and stress between disagreeing groups.

Third, job loss, lack of job opportunity, cost of living, stress, and other disruptive forces are active in most communities. Youth and adults of all colors and creeds find it difficult to get jobs, and targeted groups continue to experience exploitation and victimization.

Fourth, the wounds of years gone by are still fresh in the minds of many, especially in the presence of continued abuse and prejudice. Thus, the social and economic conditions are ripe for continuing and increasing interethnic stress.

The Impact of Failed Authority

Ideally, individuals empowered with creating laws, responding to national need and local desire, enforcing the law, educating the young, and in general providing services and guidance to citizens are expected to behave in a manner commensurate with their positions of authority within the community. They are expected to act in ways that uphold the laws and highest standards of performance of the community or, in these cynical times, to at least look like they do. In return for their efforts, they receive payment in the form of money and the respect of the community. When their services are needed in a time of crisis, the citizens for whom these ideal civil servants work will support their actions and aid them in their efforts.

The reality is that, whether through natural inclination or under stress, many people in whom we vest authority fail to uphold the ideal. When they do fail, we react. Natural inclination and stress also play roles in our reactions. We may overlook small failures and petty corruptions, excusing them on the premise that human beings will be human beings. However, when those who hold authority behave in a manner that consistently deprives a group of its rights and privileges, they are likely to be viewed less humanely. They lose the respect of the people among whom they must work. Because they are not respected, people ignore them and may even openly ridicule and attack them. When crises do arise, they are incapable of acting effectively to the benefit of all parties because they are at war with all parties. Their very presence may exacerbate already stressful situations. The events surrounding the beating of Rodney King and the riots following the verdict in

the trial of those who beat him provide many examples of the failure of authority to uphold the contract of service and the results.

Failure of Communication

When people do not talk to each other, they do not learn. When they stop learning, they stop understanding. Thus, prejudice arises out of ignorance, and ignorance and prejudice lead to crisis. To some people, this may seem to be a somewhat simplistic explanation of an altogether complex problem. Nonetheless, it is true.

There are many small communities within a large community. These communities are divided by economics, religion, life-style, ethnicity, culture, color, personal preference, age, experience, and other characteristics. There are as many differences as there are people within the communities, and those differences may generate fear if they are not understood.

The role of individual beliefs and experiences is critical when people confront each other in an atmosphere of ethnic tension. In moments of stress, people have difficulty making rational decisions and reacting without emotion. Everyone is vulnerable to anger. When people get angry, they draw on negative images and tend to express those images in words and, later, actions designed to wound the targets of that anger. If a person holds a prejudice, the object of that prejudice makes an easy target. If we do not understand our neighbors, we may fear them.

When prejudice-related events occur, there is typically a history of failed communication. Regrettably, the society in which we live is imbued with that history and its results. Because of fear, embarrassment, belief that help will not be offered, and other reasons, victims of prejudice may be reluctant to report attacks or may chose to take action on their own without considering subsequent reactions. In the past, some authorities have ignored or misinterpreted hate crimes and other forms of attack. They may have even participated. Continuing bigotry within the system may result in further victimization. Contributing factors such as poverty and exploitation have been allowed to escalate. Mutual resentment and misunderstanding continue to foster increased tension. Neither side listens to the other, or, if they do appear to listen, they do not act to resolve problems or grow to understand each other. Eventually, when crises do arise, there are no established lines of communication; there is no trust on which to base mutual agreement.

Acceptance of Violence as a Means of Problem Solving

The United States is a society in which people learn from childhood how to attack. Many of our heroes have guns in their hands. Peaceful arbitration (i.e., communication) is represented as being the province of saints, wimps,

and traitors. More importantly, we learn that the other side cannot be reasoned with due to their ignorance or venality. The media depict established authority as being inept and corrupt, unable to separate the good guys from the bad guys, the criminal from the victim. People are left with the idea that they can only depend on themselves and, because of the failures of the system, that their only choice is violence. The entrepreneurial nature of society reinforces the concept that it is both a right and a necessity that everyone take care of themselves.

At the same time, there are repeated patterns of abuse in our society. Incidents of rape and physical assault for purposes other than robbery (i.e., likely motivated by a desire for power and feelings of insecurity) are increasing. Familial histories of child and spouse abuse and continuing patterns of victimization appear in frightening numbers. Whole segments of cities have become the provinces of home-grown and imported drug dealers. People who live in those provinces are grossly misrepresented as being a group that is as corrupt as the drug dealers who live among them. Overlooking worldwide statistics and the realities of HIV and AIDS in this country, the ignorant and the homophobic represent AIDS as being vengeance for a homosexual life-style. Gay bashing, hate crimes, divorce by knife and gun (i.e., striking out in violence) appear to be efficient, effective ways to obtain desired ends, which justifies the means.

In a society in which violence is accepted as both a right and a necessity for survival, it is only natural that bigots and people who react to bigots, as well as people acting out against oppression, accept violence as a means for resolving issues. Bigots may believe that a Mexican-American man competing with a White man for a promotion must be "taught a lesson" by an almost homicidal beating if he is to learn to keep his place. A verdict in favor of a White police officer accused of brutality toward a Black man may be seen as a continuation of victimization and used as justification for robbing and burning down a store owned by a Jew who lives across town. Violence is no more rational than prejudice, but perhaps it is more socially acceptable.

Existing Climate of Prejudice

In order for prejudice-related events to occur, there must be a climate of prejudice. One group has prejudices against another group that has prejudices against the former. Past experience and current events, which continue past patterns, create that climate. Even if an individual neighborhood, school, or city appears to be free of prejudice, under the "right" circumstances prejudice will raise its ugly head. No matter how great the desire to believe that there are only a few bigots today, we must not deceive ourselves.

The Rodney King incident is an all too fresh example. The fact that King was beaten did not surprise most people, although the nature of the beating

may have appalled them. Why? Because many of us assume that police officers are violent and that they attack anyone. We are bigots. Some of us believe that any criminal deserves punishment and, therefore, that King's actions justified a use of extreme force, rather than the use of force adequate to restrain him. We are bigots. Some of us believe that despite the evidence of unnecessary use of force, we must adjudge the perpetrators of the beating not guilty if we are to protect our homes and families. Better them than us. We are self-centered bigots.

The videotape of the King beating demonstrated one aspect of contemporary American culture—an existing climate of prejudice. It gave lie to the solidly held belief of the dominant culture that prejudice is a thing of the past, except for a few fringe groups and twisted fanatics. A group of human beings permitted other human beings to beat a man senseless in their presence. Authorities pronounced it justified to save face and preserve an image. The jury was composed of a group of generally socioeconomically privileged, well-educated individuals who, in one moment, believe they can never be victimized and, in the next moment, are convinced they may be the next victim of violence. This jury by inference upheld the actions of the officers and their superiors. An entire community suffered because of the violent actions of a few people who forgot that violence does not solve differences—it only creates pain and loss. Finally, as was the case in the summer of 1967, after the smoke dispersed and the celebrities departed, the zeal for change is fading. We live in a climate that fosters prejudice.

Events

This section describes some of the characteristics of two specific types of events: hate crimes and community-based events such as street disturbances.

Two people turning on each other with racial slurs and acting out in violence does not constitute a hate crime. Spontaneous events of this kind result from individual frustrations and hatreds. It is difficult to predict when they will occur, although when an individual is full of prejudice or the victim of prejudice, it is not unlikely that he or she will eventually be involved in some kind of prejudice-related event. It may be no more than slinging insults at a passing police car or ostracizing a co-worker or a neighbor. That kind of individual action cannot be dealt with unless the individual chooses to seek help or commits an act that brings him or her to public attention.

It is essential to keep in mind that aggressive acts are self-perpetuating and that they escalate. Whether the perpetrator of such acts believes that he or she has succeeded or failed in obtaining a goal, receiving recognition,

attaining power, or in some other way achieving success, the next act is likely to be more violent than the last. One of the goals of people struggling to overcome prejudice should be to teach others how to recognize the symptoms of prejudice and forestall that escalation.

Hate Crimes

Hate crimes are acts of desecration, verbal and physical threat, and verbal and physical attack inspired by prejudice. Perpetrators use graffiti, racial slurs, obscenities, property damage, and physical attack to convey that they have prejudice against a target group. Although any hate crime is deplorable, there are degrees of violence involved that must be considered.

Motivation

Why a person chooses to commit such a crime is difficult to explain. For people who are prejudiced, prejudice overrides common sense and the accepted social mores that would ordinarily inhibit their taking such a step. They are already conditioned to view the targets of their prejudice as deserving of attack. The opportunity to act may be irresistible. People who are not overtly prejudiced may succumb to peer pressure or threat of some kind. Others may commit such acts because they are seeking attention. Still others commit such acts because they are violent by nature and found a ready outlet for that violence.

Community attitudes play a role. If a person believes that he or she can commit a hate crime with impunity, that person is more likely to act on the impulse to commit such a crime. That feeling of freedom may originate in a belief that the person will not be seen, caught in the act, or identified. In a community that tolerates prejudice, it follows that the community will tolerate acts of hate against the targets of prejudice.

Freedom to act may also originate in the person's belief that, if caught, he or she will be treated lightly. In many communities, as long as a human being is not harmed significantly (i.e., killed), there are few laws designed to punish hate crimes effectively. For example, the desecration of a religious building is often treated as simple property damage or, if young people are involved, considered to be the result of overexhuberance and lack of maturity. The desecration may be classified as a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or perhaps some kind of community service. That the goal of the act might be to terrorize members of a particular religious group may not be considered. The existence of a pattern of such acts may be overlooked or ignored. The role and potential long-term effects of prejudice in such acts is likely to be considered irrelevant, if it is considered at all. Moreover, if a hate crime is committed in the dead of night, if there are no actual or

willing witnesses, the person who committed the crime is likely to escape punishment.

Participants

Anyone who is prejudiced or who seeks the approval of a person who is prejudiced may become involved in a hate crime. It is difficult to determine how many hate crimes are perpetrated by solitary individuals, but in many instances investigation reveals that several people participate.

It is extremely common for young people, primarily males, to initiate and jointly participate in hate crimes such as property desecration and physical attacks on targeted individuals and groups. This may result from their lack of maturity, vulnerability to indoctrination, sense of invulnerability, and lack of social conditioning that would inhibit their acting out in such ways. Peer pressure and mob psychology, and sometimes the influence of adults, play roles in shaping the nature and degree of violence of such attacks. The murder of Luyen Phan Nguyen, discussed in chapter 1, is an example of how individual attitudes can progress into mob action. The young people who participated in the beating may have felt a need to demonstrate their oneness with their peers. The large group of young people who looked on and did not take steps to stop the beating may have feared being seen as different from everyone else. Caught up in the passion of the moment, both the direct participants and the onlookers may have given little thought to the actual effects of the beating on the victim. For some youths, the number of people participating and looking on without protest may have created a sense of freedom—of validation for the violence. However reluctant some participants in this episode may have been, the number of people involved and the intensity of the experience overcame, at least for the moment, their more humane impulses. After the event, some of those youths expressed intense feelings of guilt and extreme trauma. Others basically blamed the victim. Both responses are typical of prejudice-related events.

The involvement of organized groups in hate crimes is apparently extensive. As discussed in chapter 1, the rise in the number of such organizations, especially in such volatile groups as the Skinheads, and the escalation of the influence of White supremacist and other groups on both adult and youthful bigots has been accompanied by the increase in hate crimes across the United States. In particular, leaders of organized groups make a direct appeal to youths both to acquire their support and to make use of that youthful energy so aptly described by Allport (1954/1979).

Patterns

Defining the pattern associated with hate crimes is difficult in the best of circumstances. It is possible to look at two very arbitrary and general catego-

ries: spontaneous events and organized group activity. The nature of the crime is not a factor in this categorization.

Spontaneous hate crimes may occur when one or two individuals simply do not know what to do with themselves or when an opportunity to express their feelings presents itself to people who are prejudiced. Prejudice may not even be a factor at the outset, but becomes a factor as the event progresses. The fact that a person believes it is acceptable to use prejudice-charged words or actions is a factor, regardless of whether the person is actually overtly prejudiced. The degree of violence in a spontaneous crime may range from spray painting a building to assault with a deadly weapon. Spontaneous hate crimes have no consistent pattern, although in a community in which prejudice is tolerated there may be many spontaneous events inspired by or involving prejudice-charged words and actions.

Organized hate crimes are typically part of a definable pattern and may involve a wide range of activities. Patterns of verbal harassment, minor property damage, and threats often appear first. If the patterns are not interrupted, the violence may escalate. Whether the number of participants is small or large, concerted effort is involved. The more intelligent and resourceful the group is, the more damaging and difficult it will be to identify.

However, there is another factor in organized hate crimes that plays an important factor: The participants typically cannot keep quiet about what they have done. They tell other members of the group who did not participate. They tell family and others. The perpetrators may even seek publicity and public notice. It may be that the people who commit such crimes are true believers who feel that any act is justified and worthy of note. It may be that the desire for status plays a part. It may also be that the same irrational decision-making process plays a role. Finally, it has sometimes been the case that a participant suffers feelings of guilt or that a person who is told about the crime will not condone it. Guilt and abhorrence may lead them to speak to authorities.

Community Reaction

When a hate crime occurs, most communities react with surprise. The majority of the citizens may not acknowledge that there are overtly prejudiced people in their midst. And, memories are short. People may have forgotten incidents that occurred several months or a few weeks ago. Sometimes it is true that years have gone by since the last cross was burned on someone's lawn. It may be that antisemitic graffiti was never scrawled on the walls of the local synagogue before. At other times, there has been a series of progressively more overt acts of prejudice. But until a really violent crime occurs (e.g., a murder), a community has been in full-fledged denial.

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Surprise leads to further denial. If the perpetrators are young, some people may explain away the act as being committed by troublemakers motivated by a desire to create trouble in general. If the perpetrators are adults, other adults are willing to ascribe the act to a very small group of fanatics or outside agitators. The "it can't happen here" syndrome comes into play.

It may be the case that a group of youths could act out and, without considering the import or consequences of their act, choose to use prejudiced-filled words that they either do not understand or wish to use for the simple shock effect. It could be that fanatics are at work, that the bigots recently moved into the community, or that outsiders are stirring up trouble.

Another factor may also be at work. If the target of the act (e.g., a property-directed crime, or any prejudice-related crime for that matter) is an object of mystery or suspicion, it may be that people wonder whether the target provoked the crime. The "blame the victim" reaction arises. For example, during the confrontation between Iraq and the United States that began in 1990 and continues today, some Middle Eastern people—whether from Iraq or another nation—have been subjected to verbal assault, their businesses have been boycotted, and their children have been targeted for harassment in schools. The inflammatory language used by the media and by some government officials has contributed to this ongoing acting out. Incidents of terrorism, such as the bombing of the World Trade Towers in New York City in 1993, have raised additional fears that Egyptian- and Arab-Americans and Egyptian and Arab immigrants will be targeted for retaliation and discrimination.

However, hate crimes are acts of violence by nature. Words can do damage just as surely as a fist, a gun, or a torch. Hate crimes create fear and mutual suspicion. Children may experience anxiety, and adults may fear for their physical safety. Even hate crimes that do not involve direct attacks on people involve significant violence. For example, arson can lead to the total destruction of property. The lives of firefighters, police officers, and people living and working nearby may be at risk. Jobs, the life's work of a family, and every possession a person may have may be put at risk.

In the end, the community and its government must make a choice: To continue to treat such crimes as isolated incidents, or to take steps to identify the source of prejudice and ameliorate its effects on the community and the target populations. In the past, a few states and localities have had laws on the books that could be used to prosecute hate crimes (e.g., laws against desecrating cemeteries and places of worship). Federal prosecutors have also attempted to employ civil rights laws and other laws already in place to pursue people who repeatedly and/or in an organized fashion use hate crimes to threaten and intimidate target groups. Success of such prosecutions has been mixed. Recently, some states and localities have put into effect laws specifically defining hate crimes and establishing stiff punishments for those who commit them. Time will demonstrate their effectiveness.

Physical assault and murder are the most dramatic and sensationalized forms in which hate crimes appear. Consider the reaction to a gay bashing incident that is purported to have occurred in Wilmington, North Carolina, in early 1993. Following the announcement by President Clinton that steps would be taken to remove restrictions on homosexuals in the military, two Marines—representing the very image of male patriotic American ideals—alledgedly went to a local bar catering to gays for the sole purpose of attacking a gay man, any gay man. The two men are said to have waited outside the bar until a likely target came outside, and then proceeded to beat the man severely. The recent trial of the Marines resulted in an acquittal. Elements of the gay community claim the verdict is an example of overt prejudice. Elements of the anti-gay community cite the verdict as a victory and a vindication of their claims that the man who was beaten was not targeted because he was gay. The event continues to receive national news coverage and is being used by factions on both sides of the issue of whether to remove restrictions on gays in the military.

The political climate of the time has made this particular event a focal point. The truth of the particular incident is difficult to ascertain. However, gay bashing is something that occurs every day, several times a day, throughout the country and the world. The same can be said of physical assault, including murder, on other targeted populations.

Community-Based Events

In its broadest sense, a community is a population of people living in the same location. We also live and work within smaller communities—schools, businesses, churches, and neighborhoods. Prejudice and prejudice-related events can occur in any community in which we participate.

In earlier chapters, the influences that contribute to prejudice and its expression have been discussed. Being sensitive to the impact of those influences can sensitize people to the potential that community-based events will occur. In an ideal world, steps would be taken to adjust conditions so that prejudice and victimization are stopped. However, this is rarely what occurs. We must too often resort to spotting the signs of impending violence.

As already noted, there is a widely recognized pattern of escalation in prejudice-related events. This pattern holds whether the event occurs in a school corridor or a city street. (Readers are referred to the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* for greater detail.) The common factors are:

- There is an existing pattern of prejudice-related events.
- Many of the individuals involved have experienced frustration of hopes and the effects of prejudice over time and are overwhelmed by a sense of powerlessness in relation to institutions and society in general.

- Violence as a form of protest and problem solving is generally accepted.
- One or more precipitating events occur (e.g., the beating of Rodney King and the subsequent acquittal of the police officers involved).
- There may be protests revolving around the incident, both by minorities and anti-minority groups; the protest may also be related to events in another location.
- There may be a pattern of official neglect and misadministration of justice related to prior events.
- Once violence begins, if it cannot be diffused immediately, it spreads quickly. Mob psychology takes hold.

A survey conducted by the National Advisory Commission revealed the following about the specific events that occurred in 1967:

- The sites of the riots were typically heavily traveled at the time the riots began.
- High temperatures during the day and night brought many more people onto the streets.
- The greatest violence occurred in the evening and night hours.
- Violence escalated quickly, typically within 2–3 hours after the precipitating event.
- Violence against property began with window breaking and similar activities, in which people made use of materials at hand and then progressed into looting and arson. Eventually, there was gunfire and sniping by riot participants.
- A variety of tactics were used to reduce and contain the violence, ranging from people living in the neighborhood trying to calm the situation to armed intervention by police. No one tactic appeared to be effective.
- The negative attitude of participants toward figures of authority made it almost impossible for effective action to be taken by police.
- Participants were Black and White, with the majority being Black.
- Arrest data and various studies indicated that the most active participants were locally born or long-term residents, unmarried Black males, between 15 and 24 years old, unemployed or underemployed, not without some education, and full of hostility toward Whites and middle-class Blacks. (The important factor here is the youth of participants.)

At first glance, it might appear that these patterns would apply solely to street and urban-wide riots. However, even events occurring in a school corridor will exhibit some of these features. There may be a pervasive climate of prejudice in the neighborhood that is brought into the school. Administra-

tors may notice that individual students and groups of students are openly hostile toward each other. There may be exchanges of insults and shoving matches. Territories may be designated in and around the school. Numerous small incidents may occur over time. Typically, those incidents become more and more violent. Eventually, some event will occur: The "wrong" team may win a sporting event, and an argument between two individuals will escalate beyond words and people will begin to take sides. Violence may erupt on a wide scale. These days, guns and other weapons may be drawn and used.

Reports on the 1992 Los Angeles riots would likely reflect the characteristics given previously. There was an added factor in that Asian-owned businesses were targeted for particular damage. Asian owners are perceived as exploiting local residents.

Summary

Each prejudice-related event is unique, with differences resulting from the environments in which events occur and the differences in the people who participate in and are affected by the events. At the same time, there are factors and characteristics common to such events, which include enduring patterns of deprivation and persecution. Situations that challenge the "rightness" or "wrongness" of expressing prejudice or beliefs against prejudice, a perceived threat to the status of individuals or the dominant culture, and failed authority structures such as law enforcement present circumstances in which the law, enforcement bodies, the rights of individuals, and social structures are challenged. Both the failure to communicate and the acceptance of violence as a problem-solving tool can exacerbate already volatile situations. If a community or society tolerates prejudice, whether consciously or unconsciously, hate crimes and community-wide events are inevitable and potentially have far-reaching and long-term effects.

Despite clearly visible commonalities, when a prejudice-related event occurs, some people will say, "Things like this don't happen here." At the same time, other people will say, "It was only a matter of time." This difference in opinion reflects the basic human tendency to deny that all of us are capable of harmful actions, as well as a common fatalism that is derived from a belief that human beings cannot change their behaviors.

It is ironic that bigots and victims of bigotry have common experiences and goals. Both bigots and victims of bigotry are human beings who face similar daily human problems: how to support their families; how to further their dreams; and how to provide for the future of their children, their

nation, and the world. Both experience insecurity, fear, and the need for acceptance and reward. When their goals are frustrated, both may become frustrated, repressed, full of denial and guilt, aggressive, and prejudiced against those whom they perceive to be oppressing them. Some people in both groups may act out in violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHORT-TERM RESPONSES TO OVERT EVENTS

Key Concepts

- Before any counseling effort can begin, the prejudice-related event must be diffused.
- Professional counselors may have roles as negotiators, crisis managers, and advisors, as well as providers of crisis counseling services.
- The short-term role of professional counselors, educators, and others equipped to deal with the aftermath of the event is to evaluate the support that will be required for victims and victimizers.
- Successful management of a prejudice-related event depends on being prepared as professionals and as a community.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of what may occur in a community when a prejudice-related event occurs and before it is possible to begin counseling. People charged with alleviating the distress of victims of overt events related to prejudice and with establishing a foundation for change in a community face two global challenges. First, they must be able to evaluate the situation accurately and implement the steps that must be taken to relieve the immediate crisis. Second, they must determine the nature of long-term change that is necessary and support efforts to bring it about.

This chapter discusses some of the short-term issues that need to be addressed to diffuse the immediate crisis of a prejudice-related event. Chapters 6 and 7 outline steps that could be taken to provide organized community counseling, prepare for the delivery of individual counseling, and institute global changes in the community.

Professional counselors and others who have an understanding of prejudice and knowledge of the community are a vital component in planning how to handle prejudice-related events. By and large, such events are emotional in nature. By drawing on the expertise of professional counselors, educators, and other trained professionals, it may be possible to anticipate what may occur and to develop contingency plans that offer functional solutions that help, rather than hurt, the situation. In cases where events move too rapidly and violence is involved, the role of professional counselors and others may be limited by necessity. However, preplanning permits energies to be focused; events that can be foreseen will be handled more effectively and permit a more rapid response to unforeseen events. Neither counseling nor change for the better can occur unless and until the immediate effects of the specific event have been identified and diffused to the point where more long-term issues can be confronted.

The particular steps that may be necessary to take are event specific. There is no magic formula, nor a set of rules and guidelines that can be applied. The single common element is this: The more people know about their community and about prejudice and its effects, the less likely it is that events will get out of hand and the more likely it is that authorities, professional counselors, and others will know what to do when events occur. In relation to prejudice-related events, ignorance and denial are the seeds of failure.

Immediate Issues

When events occur, the emotions of those affected typically run high and their actions may be irrational. Before control returns and any effort can be made to confront long-term issues, it is necessary to deal with those emotions and reactions.

If an event occurs between one or two individuals or a small group of people in a confined, controlled environment (e.g., a school or a jail), authorities may be able to separate participants, thereby diffusing the immediate situation. Mental and physical health care professionals may be on call. Trained negotiators may be available. However, the larger the level of involvement, the less likely it is that low-key intervention will be effective.

In the best of circumstances, a structure will already be in place that is capable of dealing with both the incident and its aftermath. For example, a forward-thinking school administration may have developed an organized plan for defusing prejudice-related situations and providing for short-term crisis management. Special arrangements governing the use of law enforcement and emergency service agencies may be in place. In recent years, natural disasters and incidents such as sniping and violence in schools have led to the formation of crisis management teams made up of police officers, teachers, professional counselors, parents, and others who work together to alleviate the fears of students and parents.

However, given the widespread denial that is working within most communities and the limited resources available to make a concerted effort to overcome ethnic prejudice, the intervention structure may be little more than a paper plan, if it exists at all. All too often the only response to a localized prejudice-related event is to call the police and wait to see what happens. Events that involve violence will likely require emergency services, such as emergency medical care and fire and rescue services. Other tools and necessary human resources may not be in place. In the end, the effectiveness of any effort may rely on one individual or a few individuals who are literally on the front line of the conflict.

When an open expression of prejudice occurs, individuals first react emotionally. Victims will be distressed emotionally and may have been harmed physically. Victimizers may be within reach or gone. If they are still present, they may also be experiencing physical and psychological distress. People not directly involved may be shocked, may deny that the event is what it appears to be, or may become angry at the victim and victimizer alike. Sometimes a community of people may rush together to demand change. The more violent and widespread an event is, the more intense the emotion and reaction and the more likely it is that people will become concerned for their personal well-being.

People in authority will also experience strong emotions, including distress. They will struggle between the desire to maintain an ordered community and the need to confront participants with the level of intervention necessary to resolve the immediate crisis. If the situation involves using armed force, members of enforcement agencies will experience emotional and possibly physical side effects because of the violence that they witness and in which they participate. In addition, they may suffer physical injuries.

Finally, the efforts and attitudes of any authority structure in relation to a prejudice-related crisis will reflect the intention and will of the community. People in authority share the emotions and reactions of victims, victimizers, bystanders, and the community as a whole. Some people in positions of authority will be prejudiced, whereas others may deny the reality of the situation. Still others will be open to possibilities and without prejudice. The prejudice present in authority structures can and will influence both the choice of methods used to bring order and the individual actions of enforcement agents.

Regardless of the situation and the resources available to resolve it, with the exception of the most contained, time-limited event, no event has an orderly, linear progression from one level of activity to another. An incident that may appear insignificant to outsiders may be the trigger for larger events. The more significant the trigger, the more intense the response will be. The larger the scale of the event, the more rapid and diverse activity will be. Flexibility and diversity in response are necessary throughout an event.

Where to Begin

Although circumstances vary greatly, eight questions must be answered immediately.

1. What is really happening?
2. Who are the participants?
3. What must be done to stop events from becoming more extreme?
4. Are there leaders within the participating groups or from outside who can be used to diffuse the situation?
5. What authority figures (e.g., parents, teachers, police, the courts, religious leaders, politicians) have roles in short-term solutions?
6. What is the role of the media in community-wide events?
7. What support services (e.g., fire and rescue, social services, the medical establishment) are required?
8. What is the specific role for professional counselors and educators?

Define the Event

It is vital that the nature of the event be determined. Is the event related to prejudice or not? Is prejudice a tool used to express anger or the motivation for that anger? To what degree is violence a part of the incident?

In a community with a history of prejudice-related events, it is likely that prejudice will be a component in any angry or violent interaction between different ethnic groups or between a targeted minority and law enforcement. Even if the event is not directly precipitated by prejudice, prejudice can exacerbate the emotional responses and potential for violence. When target populations are involved, it is inevitable that prejudice will become an issue at some point.

The goal should be to diffuse the event at the earliest and lowest possible level of involvement. Of course, it is easy to make this statement, but it is often difficult to carry out the aim. Even a minor incident can escalate into a community-wide event when emotions run high. If a community has a history of prejudice-related events or a population that includes targeted groups, the potential for events to occur is high. Although the best option for addressing such situations is to prevent them from occurring at all, wisdom should dictate that the potential for a prejudice-related event occurring is there. If possible, as is done in relation to natural disasters, preplanning should be done before events occur.

Identify the Participants

Ideally, the people participating at each stage of the event should be identified before a course of action is set. Depending on the nature of the incident, this may present difficulties, but knowing who is participating can both explain why things are happening and provide information that is key to calming the situation. If the participants are known to each other, there may be long-term personal animosity between them that can exacerbate the situation. For example, events between rival gangs of different ethnic backgrounds will have components of prejudice and gang violence. Concerns about turf and past history will arise. If strangers are involved, generalized interethnic prejudice may dominate.

The ages of the participants may have an effect as well. Youths have special protections under the law; that may be a consideration. Young people accustomed to authority may be more responsive to authority; then again, they may react out of rebellion, and attempts by authorities to intervene will lead to even greater resistance. The younger the population involved, the more likely it is that social inhibitors will not have a strong hold over the participants.

Knowing who is participating and, therefore, what their backgrounds and general habits may also aid in determining how likely it is that weapons will be used. In some communities, weapons are readily available to both adults and children. Students may be known to bring weapons into the school. When a street riot is underway, participants may have access to weapons looted from gun shops in the community. Knowing the community and its habits may help identify both the potential for violence and the people most prone to do violence.

Prevent Escalation

It is a fact that there are times when situations get out of hand and stay out of hand. The best of intentions and resources will not delay or prevent incidents. Emotions may be too strong, and events may move too quickly. In such cases, the best that can be done is to try to separate the participants. Failing that, every effort must be made to calm people down.

Respected members of the community (e.g., ministers, a respected teacher, a friend, a relative, parents) may be able to calm some of the participants. Trained negotiators (e.g., police negotiators, mental health professionals, professional counselors) may also be able to assist.

The advantage of trained negotiators is that their training includes methods of dealing with emotions on both sides, techniques for developing relationships with resisting participants, and using a variety of approaches to handle crises. In selecting people to serve this role, a major consideration must be the attitudes that participants may have toward the individuals attempting to communicate with them. If there is a history of resistance to authority, animosity between law enforcement agents and the populace, or any other factor that will have negative connotations for the participants, choosing a negotiator who is seen as an enemy may create even more dissension. The more authoritarian the image of the negotiator is, the more likely it is that resistance will continue. If the negotiator is closely identified with and respected by the participants, they may be more willing to listen. At the least, the negotiator must be viewed as neutral.

If weapons are involved, immediate efforts should be made to disarm participants, which is easier said than done. As long as weapons are present, the potential for violence is heightened. In the best of circumstances, some participants may surrender the weapons they have. Even when a true riot situation does not exist, however, it may be necessary to call in law enforcement officials. In street riot situations, it is sometimes necessary for officials to place guards on gun and sports shops to block easy access to weapons. If weapons do appear, arrests may have to be made.

If violence is a component of what is happening, a hard choice must be made: Is it necessary to use armed intervention to protect lives and property?

If so, at what level? The use of force raises issues that are too complex to deal with here. What can be said is this: Before the decision to use force is made, the people who make that decision need to be fully aware of the benefits and drawbacks of armed confrontation. They must be prepared to act quickly and effectively if force is necessary. To do so, they must know the community. They must have an understanding of how violence escalates. They should be able to anticipate the consequences during and after the event. Finally, they must be prepared to accept responsibility for their actions.

Find Arbitrators and Negotiators

The words and efforts of respected individuals can be effective tools for resolving immediate conflict and establishing a climate for resolution. If there are established paths of communication between authorities and various leaders of the community, it may be possible to establish an immediate dialogue between event participants and authorities. If time and the situation permit, it might be possible to bring in trained crisis negotiators.

The role of negotiator has its drawbacks, particularly if the negotiator is not known to the participants or is not a member of the community. Negotiators provided by authorities are likely to be perceived as being little more than cops without badges. If they are not of the same ethnic background as the event participants, they may be seen as unsympathetic, unable to understand the community's needs and concerns, and even hostile toward the community. Regardless, the negotiatior's first task will be to establish a groundwork for communication and trust, without which negotiation efforts may be frutiless.

However, during many events, it is easier to identify potential negotiators than it is to identify event participants who could and would assist in calming down the situation. During the 1967 riots and the 1992 Los Angeles riots, during which it was impossible to locate a single riot leader, ordinary citizens took on the responsibility of calming their neighbors and attempted to diffuse violence and stop looting. On a limited scale, their efforts were successful. But, in the end, it seems that time, fatigue, and fear of punishment had the greatest effect.

Use the Media

The participation of the media is a mixed blessing. When a crisis arises, the media serve as a means to alert people to ways to avoid being caught up in events. Community members who can help resolve the crisis, provide emergency services, and support the efforts to calm participants can be alerted. The media function to arouse the empathy and compassion of people who are not directly involved. For example, during the 1992 Los Angeles

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riots, ordinary citizens came to the aid of a truck driver who was beaten into unconsciousness while a news helicopter hovered overhead broadcasting the incident. The media coverage led individuals to bring in emergency medical and food supplies, volunteer their services in many other ways, and provide shelter for people who were too afraid to stay in their homes.

The major benefit of media involvement is that education and enlightenment can occur on a wider scale than might otherwise be possible. The media may serve as historians of the event, permitting a more accurate assessment of what occurred, demonstrating the failures of steps that were taken, and bringing to the fore people and events that may help resolve the emotions and psychological distress the community and its members experience. Issues that previously went unrecognized or were denied are brought to the surface and can be dealt with more effectively.

However, it is also the case that not all coverage by the media is responsible. If the coverage provided by media prior to an incident has served to foster prejudice, it is unlikely that coverage of that incident will be without prejudice. If media coverage incorporates stereotypical images of violence in a particular neighborhood, the coverage can inhibit efforts to bring an end to the event and to efforts to bring about long-term change. Also, the media tend to concentrate on the most dramatic events that occur. If the media offer live coverage of an effort to bring together law enforcement officers on one street to confront rioters on another street, the effectiveness of that effort may be compromised. The images that predominated the coverage of the Los Angeles riots were those of violence, conflagration, and armed Korean store owners attempting to protect their properties. These images likely attracted some participants to the riots. The fact that the majority of citizens living in East Los Angeles stayed behind locked doors was barely mentioned.

During a crisis, it is appropriate for the media and authorities attempting to diffuse the crisis to come together for at least some purposes. Efforts to resolve the crisis should be fostered by all parties. The media may be able to assist in bringing opposing sides together for negotiations. Broadcasts of the calming words of community leaders may help calm participants and reassure nonparticipants. The media can perform numerous services related to informing the public factually about steps being taken, locations of services, and the realities of the reactions of the community as a whole.

Provide Emergency Services

Handling riot situations, whether confined to a school or spread throughout a community, entails using extensive emergency services. Riots are not unlike natural disasters, and even a small-scale event can result in injury and property damage. The larger the event, the greater the extent of property

damage, opportunistic crime and the potential for mob reactions, physical injuries, emotional trauma, and potential disruptions in essential services. Police, fire, rescue, and medical services are readily available in most communities. In some areas, mental health and crisis counseling services are also available. However, in many places, services act independently or with minimal coordination.

When there is a coordinated plan for providing a variety of services appropriate to small and large crisis events, it is relatively easy to put things into motion. The more preplanning that has occurred, the more effective those services will be. A basic disaster plan could incorporate plans for riot control, negotiation techniques, and contingency plans for other riot-specific activity.

At the least, rapid coordination of emergency services must be undertaken. Swift, centralized communication is vital to both the successful resolution of the riot and the effective care of people who are injured or endangered during the event. Even limited events such as hate crimes or individual and small-group violence may require extensive medical and police services, as well as professional counseling services.

Awareness of the effects of such events is essential, and a service plan specifically designed to address small-scale prejudice-related events would be useful. However, being sensitive to the effects of prejudice-related violence would enable professional counselors, teachers, and public agencies to provide recommendations to the victims and relatives of victims regarding their need for services, such as follow-up medical care and counseling. Ways to address the crisis counseling needs of perpetrators of hate crimes and instigators of prejudice-related events should also be examined.

Roles for Professional Counselors and Educators

Although prejudice-related events vary greatly in character, most fall into one of four categories: spontaneous acts of verbal and physical aggression and harassment (e.g., ethnic insults, patterns of verbal aggression, sporadic fights), events occurring in confined environments such as schools (e.g., school-contained gang violence), events occurring in the broader community (e.g., disturbances at sporting events, street riots), and hate crimes (e.g., desecrations, gay bashings, cross burnings).

The roles of professional counselors and educators may be very limited during the immediate crisis, depending on its scope and setting. However, as citizens in the community, they will be equally concerned with and affected by what occurs. Thus, they need to be sensitive to the impact they may have on short-term resolution.

Educators are best equipped to work with professional counselors to develop and implement programs designed to sensitize people to issues surrounding prejudice and to foster the growth of understanding and eradication of prejudice within the community.

If they work within a school or college environment, they are also in a position to identify students who may require support in combating the effects of prejudice or the development of prejudice. In addition, they are often in a position to gauge the mood of a community and sense impending crises. They can often introduce intervention efforts before a crisis becomes fully blown.

Professional counselors are equipped to evaluate the effects of prejudice on victims, the degree of prejudice on the part of victimizers, and the best methods to address the needs of both. They must also be prepared to differentiate between the needs of the community as a whole and of the individuals.

Professional counselors must also be prepared to deliver crisis counseling services. They may have the skills to serve as negotiators and arbitrators in riot situations and as part of hate crime investigation teams. In most circumstances, the immediate roles of professional counselors would be to diffuse emotional reactions; establish an initial dialogue between professional counselor, victims, and victimizers; and lay a foundation for more extensive counseling.

Summary

Short-term response to overt prejudice-related events by professional counselors may be limited by the nature of the event, access to victims and victimizers, and numerous other factors. However, a professional counselor who has a keen understanding of the nature of prejudice and its effects can be a vital component of the efforts to diffuse the event and to provide counseling directed toward alleviating prejudice in a community.

Individuals charged with planning for and handling short-term prejudice-related events need to draw on the knowledge and expertise of professional counselors, educators, and other professionals to develop responses that address short- and long-term responses. Prejudice-related events are weighted heavily by events of the past and concerns for the future. The emotional and psychological components must not be ignored in planning for immediate responses. It is essential that every effort be made to calm the tensions and emotions that arise before counseling in any form begins. It is essential that the participants be identified, escalation be prevented, arbitrators and negotiators respected by and representing the community be found, and

emergency services be provided. The media must be used constructively to enable this to happen. Otherwise, the manner in which a crisis event is handled may only contribute to the development of similar events in the future.

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CHAPTER SIX

ESTABLISHING AN ENVIRONMENT FOR COMMUNITY-DIRECTED COUNSELING

Key Concepts

- Providing effective counseling related to prejudice depends on having a thorough understanding of the nature of prejudice and its effects on victims and victimizers.
- Although it may appear that only the victim and the victimizer are affected, the community as a whole will be affected by at least some forms of prejudice-related events.
- The age and degree of involvement of victims and participants and many other factors must be considered in developing a structure for delivering counseling.
- Children and adolescents will have special concerns and counseling needs.

This chapter discusses some of the issues that must be addressed in preparing for providing community-directed counseling. The specifics of content and treatment are not addressed here; every community and each set of circumstances may require a different approach. As is the case when a professional counselor counsels individuals, many experiences and responses are common to most individuals, but each person has unique reactions and patterns of response. Communities are no different, except that both reactions and patterns may be more complicated and confusing due to the number of individual reactions that contribute to the overall picture.

Self-Knowledge Is the First Concern

Professional counselors and others who wish to work to ameliorate the effects of prejudice must be realistic about their own prejudices. As discussed in chapter 1, having positive and negative prejudices is a natural and, indeed, necessary part of being human. In part, decision making and problem solving depend on our prejudices. However, effective counseling depends on the ability to overcome or set aside personal prejudices that may inhibit one's ability to bring about positive change.

Before undertaking a counseling effort in which prejudice might be an issue, professional counselors and others should ask themselves two questions: What are my prejudices? How can I eliminate them or set them aside so that I can be more effective in bringing about necessary change?

Keep in mind that it is highly unlikely that anyone can be prejudice free, but it is possible to learn to recognize prejudices in ourselves and take steps to prevent their growth and influence. This process of self-examination, if honestly undertaken, is not likely to be easy or pain free.

Professional counseling and educational training curricula in years past rarely included training in dealing with prejudice and multicultural issues. Indeed, few programs today devote more than cursory efforts to sensitize trainees to prejudice-related issues. Nor are there many programs that assist trainees in acknowledging and dealing with their own prejudices. Thus, self-education and self-analysis are vital to one's own efforts to provide prejudice-free counseling.

Preparation Is the Second Concern

In order for community-directed counseling to be effective, it is necessary to establish an environment in which people can come together to confront the issues and resolve conflict. Professional counselors must be prepared to address both broad community concerns and the more personal needs of individuals. There are four keys to the success of such an undertaking:

1. Evaluating the circumstances surrounding an incident or pattern of incidents in relation to prejudice and its effects.
2. Bringing together necessary resources.
3. Finding an effective mechanism for delivering counseling to the community as a whole.
4. Making counseling accessible to both victims and victimizers.

It cannot be assumed that every professional counselor who lives in a community has the skills and knowledge necessary to provide community-directed counseling. As is the case with any profession, professional counselors tend to specialize in forms of treatment. Many professional counselors lack an understanding of prejudice or have had limited exposure to prejudice and its effects.

At the same time, most professional counselors have skills that are useful in managing crises, evaluating group and individual reactions, and developing systematic ways to deal with both group and individual counseling needs. Although a professional counselor who is knowledgeable about prejudice and its effects and who understands the nature of prejudice-related events is an ideal choice for providing community-directed counseling, it is essential that a professional counselor chosen to provide services is at least flexible, skilled, and knowledgeable about issues of immediate concern.

Designing a counseling effort that addresses broad community needs is a challenge. Initially, a form of disaster counseling may be needed to address event-specific group reactions. Shared emotional trauma and fears, group hysteria, continued animosity between involved groups, the impact of continuing strife, and numerous other issues related to group relations may have to be addressed. Eventually, sometimes sooner than later, the underlying factors contributing to the climate of prejudice will come to the fore. Therefore, professional counselors must be prepared from the outset to address a range of counseling issues.

It is also sometimes necessary to address inequities within support systems (e.g., the nature of policing efforts during and before the event). Professional counselors must be prepared to differentiate between counseling issues and

community relations issues. There are times when there is no clear demarcation, of course, which argues for using a multidisciplinary approach to crisis management counseling.

Acknowledging the Different Needs of Victims, Victimizers, and the Community

One of the basic requirements for providing counseling is having an understanding of the potential reactions of people affected by prejudice-related events. As discussed in earlier chapters, it is often necessary to deal not only with the direct effects of prejudice, but also with the effects of physical assault, property damage, and other forms of psychological and physical abuse.

Individual reactions of victims and victimizers may reflect community-wide conditions. However, the community as a whole may exhibit a different degree and range of reactions, or no apparent reaction at all. The first efforts may be to address the broader needs of the community, but the underlying goal is to deal with individual needs.

A victim of a prejudice-inspired act will require crisis counseling and may require long-term counseling. The ideal professional counselor will have a sound background in both victim and crisis counseling. In some circumstances, it may be more effective if the professional counselor is of the same ethnic background as victims in the target community, but a well-trained, empathetic professional counselor can address the needs of most victims. The professional counselor should be prepared to address both primary and secondary victimization.

In dealing with victimizers, it is necessary to consider the difference between people who are prejudiced and people who use prejudice as a convenient tool. A victimizer may have used prejudice as a tool without being fully aware of its effects, or simply because he or she knew how the target was likely to react. The person may be ignorant, devoid of empathy, asocial, manipulative, or just plain mean. If the victimizer is open to learning and improving his or her behavior, all that may be required is limited counseling during which the victimizer is brought to an understanding of the import of such actions and the effects on the victim.

However, if a person has deeply ingrained prejudices, the situation will be altogether different. A prejudiced person is not likely to welcome counseling because of the threat it represents or because he or she does not recognize being prejudiced as a problem. Victimizers are likely to perceive any effort to change their beliefs and behaviors as an overt threat. When victimizers

are prosecuted for their actions, they may act out even more violently. If members of an organized group are being prosecuted, they may threaten witnesses and seek to escalate violence against targets. (The reader may find *A Season for Justice*, the professional biography of civil rights lawyer Morris Dees [1991], especially interesting in regard to the methods of organized hate groups in the face of prosecution.)

Sometimes victimizers are ordered to undergo counseling. They are likely to be very resistant and hostile at the outset of counseling. The professional counselor must be highly skilled to overcome that resistance.

A person who seeks counseling for a problem seemingly unrelated to prejudice and who is prejudiced may be in deep denial. If treatment leads to the conclusion that the person is prejudiced and has the complex underlying problems associated with prejudice, he or she may become extremely resistant to treatment.

The initiation of counseling of victims and victimizers alike requires at least minimal cooperation. As the stress and effect of counseling increase, that willingness to cooperate must be maintained. Dealing with a deeply prejudiced victimizer or a victim of long-term prejudice is a long-term effort that requires a thorough understanding of the pathology of prejudice and enormous patience.

Professional counselors should be sensitive to the fact that, in some communities, the emphasis (if there is any effort at all) is likely to be placed on addressing only superficial or short-term needs of the victim and punishing the victimizers. Historically, services for the victims of any kind of attack, prejudice-related or otherwise, have been limited to crisis intervention only. Few long-term, community-based services have been available.

The prejudice component of prejudice-inspired attacks is often subordinated to the criminal component, if not completely ignored. It is appropriate to deal with the criminal nature of such attacks, but, at the same time, treating bigots who commit such attacks solely as criminals does not lead to a change in the conditions that created their prejudices in the first place. The cycle of bigotry will continue. Victimizers who are not accessible to treatment or who are no longer present will undoubtedly commit additional hate crimes and other acts against targeted populations.

Professional counselors are typically experienced in addressing the needs of individuals or small groups who are to some degree articulate and whose problems are in part identified. However, few are experienced in dealing with broad crisis intervention in a community as a whole. The more removed the majority of the population is from issues surrounding prejudice and crisis events, the more unwilling or unable to acknowledge and address the effects of prejudice the greater part of the population will be.

Moreover, even if there is a willingness to confront existing prejudice in response to a particular event, it is difficult for a community as a unit to access

services and, perhaps more important, maintain an interest. In addition to victims and victimizers, a community will include disinterested people, people who are interested but removed from the effects of prejudice, and numerous others.

In any group of people drawn from a neighborhood or a larger community, there will be people with prejudice, people without prejudice, and people who are victims of prejudice. There will be people who think they have all the answers and people who do not even know the questions. Such a mixture can be volatile, especially in the aftermath of a street riot, a series of hate crimes, or some other event in which both the physical and emotional well-being of individuals and the continued existence of the community as it perceives itself have been threatened.

Finally, it is dangerous to assume that because a specific event involved only two ethnic groups and no other that the tensions related to prejudice are not felt by other segments of the community. It is highly unlikely that any group that is a potential target has not been targeted. It is highly likely that any group contains potential or active victimizers. Every ethnic element in the community should be involved in the counseling effort, if only as part of the effort to prevent future occurrences.

The success of a community-directed counseling effort depends on how the early phase of counseling is handled. Both the location of the effort and the content must provide neutral ground for an open discussion of issues. If it appears that people with positions that are the focus of distrust or fear are in control or are in some way manipulating the effort, participants may refuse to participate or not seek out additional counseling and reeducation. Finally, if the initial efforts are to have a lasting effect, provision for long-term counseling and reeducation must be put into place quickly (see chapter 7).

Professional Counselor Characteristics

Professional counselors who are given the opportunity to offer community-directed services must be:

- skilled as professional counselors;
- well versed in the nature and effects of prejudice;
- knowledgeable about the community;
- prepared to differentiate between issues that can be addressed in a community-directed format and those that require individual attention;
- effective in addressing large groups and able to endure the stress of dealing with strong emotions in groups;

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- effective leaders and skilled consensus builders;
- realistic about the limits imposed by both the size of the task and the tendencies of people to refuse or lose interest in community-directed counseling; and
- sensitive to their own prejudices and the effects those prejudices may have.

In addition, because services will be delivered in a more or less public forum, they must maintain their professionalism and sensitivity to the issues. It is helpful if they understand how to use that forum to reinforce counseling efforts and expand outreach.

Context and relevance to the community's concerns are keys to structure and effectiveness. The fact that the counseling effort is limited to short-term, crisis-oriented counseling does not mean that it cannot provide a foundation for long-term growth. Counseling must be substantive and, to the greatest degree possible, offer an opportunity for involvement and resolution for each participant.

Event-Related Preparation

To address the issues involved in a community-directed counseling effort, the professional counselor must incorporate knowledge of the community and the event and use a format appropriate to the needs of the people who will participate. Again, it is not possible to provide a basic set of guidelines or outline a specific structure that will apply in all situations. It is possible to say that "canned" presentations are likely to fail. Dialogue will be an important component of the program, and concrete, real-people examples will play an important role in fostering both an interchange of information and a resolution of conflict.

Although the nature of prejudice is similar regardless of its target, the way that prejudice reveals itself and the degree to which it has an effect will depend to some degree on the target. If the target population is universally loved by most community members and despised by two or three fanatics, the degree of community outrage and reaction will differ markedly from the degree of reaction if the target is either ignored or openly hated. At the same time, if criminal acts are involved, the nature of those acts will have an impact. Broad issues such as crime control and child abuse may have more importance to the broader community than prejudice.

Background Research

It is recommended that the following information be gathered before counseling begins. The list may seem prodigious, but when prejudice-related events occur, the first impulse of media, politicians, the clergy, law enforcement officials, and anyone else who has even a marginal interest is to discuss the past, as well as analyze the current event. If a professional counselor has no knowledge of the history and nature of what has occurred, he or she will be able to draw on these media sources, service deliverers, and a wide range of professionals.

Population information: demographics including ethnicity, socioeconomic information, employment profiles

Patterns and history of prejudice in the community: existing and past efforts to address prejudice and nature of community interest and involvement

Event related: similar incidents, precipitating event, details of current event, participant and victim profiles, evaluation of officials dealing with event, current status, participation of prejudice-inspired organizations

Community-wide impact: arrests, nature and extent of damage (property damage, injuries), current community attitudes

If a long-term counseling effort is to be undertaken, it might be useful to perform a community-wide survey designed to identify people's attitudes toward prejudice, personal experiences with prejudice, shared concerns and goals, practical concerns, and similar information. However, time and resources may limit the ability to perform such a survey.

Of particular concern is the degree to which antiminority and prejudice-inspired organizations are involved. If organized prejudice is heavily involved, the pattern of disruption may continue. Violence may escalate. Efforts may be made to disrupt counseling and support services. The involvement of such organizations may be an indicator of the nature of the problems that will be encountered and the degree of shared prejudice in the community.

Delivery Format and Implementation

In planning for structure and delivery of counseling services, the following topics should be addressed:

Group characteristics

Primary and secondary issues that should be covered

Time period for planning and delivery

Most appropriate times and settings for counseling determined by the characteristics of the group being treated

Source and amount of funding

Previous service recommendations

Existing resources in use and available for use: counseling and support network available for immediate use and follow-up, including institutional programs, organizations, volunteer groups, existing programs specifically addressing prejudice, names and addresses

Staffing needs: staff that can be drawn from existing programs, role of nonprofessionals including parents, nature and number of professional and support staff, role of volunteers

Reference and training materials in relation to audience type

Involvement of political, legal, and social service structures

Expectations of affected populations (i.e., treatment group, politicians, community leaders, professional counselors)

Before any planning can be done, the professional counselor must know the group characteristics, issues, time frame, and budget for the counseling effort. The group characteristics and issues will determine the larger universe of concern. The time frame available for planning and delivery will determine both the format and the depth of coverage possible. Short-term crisis management will require a concentration on immediate concerns, whereas long-term counseling will enable professional counselors to address issues in greater depth and variety. The budget will introduce reality into the planning; what should be done inevitably will be reduced to what can be done given available funding.

Knowing the nature and goals of previous service recommendations will help professional counselors understand both the seriousness of prejudice in the community and the ways in which support for treatment and education have been viewed in the past. Previous recommendations may include lists of issues that are of concern, as well as options for counseling that could be used. If the professional counselor is being asked to develop long-term programs, it will also permit the professional counselor to evaluate what has been recommended in the past in relation to what is actually in place and, therefore, help develop recommendations. Finally, knowing what has been recommended in the past and how those recommendations were implemented will provide a perspective on the seriousness of the community's commitment to change in the past and, possibly, in the future.

A survey of available resources may reveal existing structures that can be modified, staff that can be used, people who can provide additional funding and materials, and in general help avoid replicating effort. It is especially important to have information about the successes and failures of organizations and programs specifically designed to address prejudice in the community.

If resources targeted for short-term counseling can be concentrated to address a set of carefully focused goals, and existing structures can be used to carry through on more generalized concerns, short-term efforts will be more effective. If funding for long-term effort can be distributed in a way that makes use of and improves existing programs, it is likely to go much further toward addressing prejudice in the community.

Once resources available for use have been identified, it will be possible to identify staff that can be drawn from existing programs, staff that must be added, whether it is possible and useful to structure a multidisciplinary approach, and so forth. If funding limits the number and nature of staff that can be paid, it may be possible to identify qualified volunteers to serve as group facilitators and in other capacities.

The kind of training materials that are used will naturally depend on the characteristics of the group being addressed. Regardless of the nature of the group being counseled, effective counseling will not rely on a lecture format. Lecturing may be one way to provide basic information, but it is likely that the issues and emotions involved will be addressed more effectively through a more engaging format.

Explanations must be in language the group can understand. Moreover, the goal of using training materials and handouts is to facilitate human interaction. Stimulation of thought and personal involvement is vital. Role playing may be especially effective. The following kinds of materials will be most useful:

plain language items drawn from scholarly materials

personal accounts

case histories

readable articles from newspapers and magazines

people-oriented reading materials

factual information related to the community

any other real-time, real-people information

Note that the emphasis is on real issues and events. Whether a person is a victim, a victimizer, or little more than a bystander, the passion and personal nature of people's own experiences have a powerful impact. Thus, personal accounts and case histories are important tools in training.

Personal accounts can be gathered beforehand or people can be encouraged to talk about their experiences during the counseling sessions. Professional counselors should be sensitive to people's personal embarrassment and reluctance to speak, and should try to create an environment in which people will feel free to speak.

If one wishes to use case histories to inspire discussion and provide examples, the cases should be carefully selected to reflect the community's concerns. Professional counselors and educators in the area may be able to provide patient and other histories that meet criteria appropriate to the counseling goals and issues. Some considerations in selecting cases would be age, gender, and race of subject; socioeconomic factors; specific events recounted; patterns of counseling received (or not received); and nature of resolution of issues that are raised.

Care should be taken to ensure that the anonymity of the subject is protected. If the subject was specifically involved in a counseling effort, it would be advisable to obtain the person's permission to use the case.

Of course, it is possible to create a generic case that is based in real events but not on a specific person's experience. Again, the key to a generic case's effectiveness in creating discussion and thought will be its relevance to the issues that are of concern and the ability of people to identify with the generic person's experience.

The age range and educational level of the group must be kept in mind. What is meaningful to high school-educated adults over age 50 versus college students aged 20 differs as dramatically as what is meaningful to school children aged 10 and adolescent high school dropouts aged 16. Finding the appropriate level of materials may be a challenge.

When one is dealing with community-wide issues, there is a need to understand and address issues related to the political and legal structures. The attitudes of political leaders will affect both the support given to the counseling effort and the effectiveness of efforts to structure delivery systems needed to bring about long-term change. Moreover, concern about resolving the current prejudice-related event may overshadow underlying issues. There is a tendency to address prejudice-related crises in ways that do little more than talk about the issues. One of the topics likely to be raised in group counseling efforts is, "Who really cares about it? Look what they said they would do before and what was actually done!" Failures to address issues and fulfill promises in the past can inhibit the open acceptance of counseling and the delivery of services in the future.

In this context, as well as in relation to the need to demonstrate that the counseling effort is community based and community directed, well-respected community leaders must be actively involved in the counseling effort. The support of such leaders is vital to attracting support and participation. Moreover, it does little good to sensitize and educate the ordinary

citizen to prejudice-related issues if community leaders are not sensitive to those issues. Finally, once the formal counseling effort has ended, efforts to continue and expand educational and counseling efforts will depend heavily on the support and direction of existing and upcoming community leaders.

The nature of the legal and social service structures will also have an impact. If either structure has not acknowledged the seriousness of prejudice or has come to be seen as a source of primary or secondary victimization, the community may view institutionalized programs with disdain and doubt. If the counseling effort relies on these existing structures to support or deliver services, affected populations may be reluctant to participate.

Providing Follow-Up Counseling

Professional counselors called in to provide community-directed crisis counseling often provide time-limited and narrowly focused services. When their efforts end, or even when they are offering counseling, the needs of individuals may go unaddressed.

It has often been assumed (even by some professional counselors) that, once a crisis has passed and the shock has worn off, special counseling is not required. This occurs even though there is a growing awareness of posttraumatic effects, the amount of time required for restoring psychological well-being, and the intensified emotional complications that can arise following physical injury, property loss, and the deaths and injuries of friends and relatives.

People not directly affected or people in authority who must address new problems every day may have difficulty recognizing or acknowledging the effects of a prejudice-related event. One of the roles of professional counselors, community leaders, and educators is to educate the disinterested and preoccupied about what is needed. Another role is to help structure and find funding for delivery of services.

The reasons that the need for follow-up care is not addressed differ depending on the community and the nature of the event. Public or private counseling may be (a) offered in an inaccessible location, (b) too expensive, or (c) simply unavailable. A person may be reluctant to reach out for help due to a perceived stigma, culturally ingrained resistance to seeking mental health care, fear of repercussions, or lack of faith in the source of care. Care may only be available during hours when people have to go to work. Parents of small children may be unable to find child care.

Whenever possible, assuming follow-up care is available and accessible, professional counselors providing short-term care or planning for a combina-

tion of short- and long-term counseling should incorporate ways to identify individuals needing counseling and encourage them to seek help.

If options for eliminating concerns over cost, location, hours, child care, and other factors can be built into follow-up, they should be. The following options could be offered:

- referrals to reduced-cost private providers;
- counseling in existing neighborhood clinics;
- counseling in alternative settings (e.g., churches, storefronts, fire stations, apartment complexes);
- formats including group and individual counseling;
- counseling by appointment, walk-in counseling, regularly scheduled group counseling open to irregular attendance, peer counseling, or self-help groups with access to professional input;
- on-site day care;
- fees adjusted according to income;
- hotlines; and
- staffing by volunteer professionals or nonprofessional facilitators (depending on the nature of the support being offered).

The options that could be offered are likely to be limited only by the ingenuity and resources of the community. There may be existing programs that could serve as models, although it is difficult in most cases to find them. However, the first step—asking other professional counselors and communities what they offer—can be taken by telephone or letter. Professional counselors who wish to specialize in crisis counseling related to hate crimes and other prejudice-related events should prepare themselves by doing such research.

Issues

Effective counseling depends on recognizing that a person's cultural background may affect reactions and behaviors, but that every person, regardless of his or her background, will react individually.

When providing individual counseling following a prejudice-related event, the professional counselor must first ascertain the nature and degree of involvement that the individual experienced. Two groups of individuals are likely to experience the most intense effects. First, direct victims of violence, property loss, and other forms of personal harm caused by a prejudice-related event are likely to react differently, have a larger variety of effects, and have a greater intensity of effects than other individuals. Second, people who witness attacks on friends, neighbors, and even strangers, as

well as those who witness attacks on property and general rioting, will also be affected psychologically and, in some cases, quite profoundly so. At the same time, it should also be kept in mind that even people seemingly not involved in or affected by a prejudice-related event, especially children, may experience trauma.

In chapter 3, the major affects of victimization, both primary and secondary, were described. Professional counselors should be sensitive to the range of effects possible, as well as prepared to treat the victim or refer for treatment. Professional counselors should also be sensitive to their own prejudices and the degree to which they are affected by stereotypical imaging.

Specific issues that should be considered in treating individuals are: specific cultural background, history of previous victimization (including victimization not related to prejudice, such as child abuse, spouse abuse, robbery), degree of personal loss related to the specific event (e.g., physical wounding, loss of family member), duration of the event, how much time has passed since its occurrence, and similar issues. Other factors that may affect counseling are the person's gender, age, sexual orientation, religion, and family structure.

Another issue that must be considered is the person's attitude toward counseling. Many individuals are reluctant to pursue counseling due to social stigma, cultural patterns, and many other reasons. This resistance will slow response to the counseling effort and may, in fact, prevent it from being effective.

Finally, we must keep in mind that counseling as we know it is, indeed, based on a very European model and structured in many ways to address the needs of people who have well-developed vocabularies and are generally literate in English. Both language and social structure have a profound effect on the interpretation of life events, as well as in evaluating the attitudes of others. Many professionals are concerned that a professional counselor who does not have the same cultural background as the client will be less effective than a professional counselor who shares cultural heritage with the client.

It is possible to use a translator when there is a language barrier, but concern must be shown for the client's confidentiality, as well as for the ability of the translator to convey both the client's and the counselor's ideas, feelings, and attitudes. Even if fluent in traditional English vocabulary, individuals who have immigrated recently or who have had an especially isolated upbringing may also have difficulty understanding counseling terminology, and may show responses and patterns of behavior with which the professional counselor is either unfamiliar or which the counselor would not expect to see under the circumstances.

Thus, when counseling victims of prejudice-related events, professional counselors must consider not only the typical counseling issues, but also the layers of emotion, socially determined responses, and multiple and varying

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clusters of trauma. If a professional counselor feels that he or she is unable to address the culturally derived needs of an individual or that the individual's own attitude toward a counselor will prevent counseling from being effective, the counselor should refer the client to a professional who is more able to address the client's needs.

Special Needs of Children

Elementary School Age and Younger

Even children not directly affected by a prejudice-related event will experience fear, distress, sleeplessness, nightmares, and a variety of other effects. Of course, the more directly a child is affected, the more pronounced his or her distress will be. Children's needs are unlikely to be addressed if they are treated as part of a mixed group of adults and children. This is especially true if the adults express anger openly and continue to act out. In most instances, special times, places, and approaches must be used with children.

Patience, sensitivity, empathy, physical contact, and support from known and trusted adults and from other children are vital to any counseling effort. Favorite toys and other toys that can be cuddled, drawing pictures to permit them to express their fears, and play therapy in general is very useful in attempts to evaluate the degree and nature of distress a child may be experiencing. Ideally, professional counselors with special skills in dealing with children in distress should participate in the effort.

Finally, passivity and silence do not indicate a lack of distress. Several weeks may go by before a child (or an adult, for that matter) will begin to show distress.

Preteens and Adolescents

It is difficult to predict how a preteen or an adolescent will react to a prejudice-related event. Depending on age and stage of development, he or she may show responses that resemble those of a younger child, a young adult, or a mature adult. Reactions will be affected by how closely he or she identifies with the people most directly affected. Considering the volatility of adolescence, professional counselors must be prepared for anything.

In circumstances where professional counselors are working with youths who have been directly affected by or who participated in the event, it is particularly important before counseling begins for professional counselors to learn as much as possible about:

patterns of prejudice and prejudice-related events in the schools the children attend;

the degree to which gang activity exists and who among the group of youths are involved in gang activity;

the degree to which parents and guardians participate in the children's lives; and

systems that may be available for follow-up counseling in school settings.

Providing counseling for adolescents in a group that includes a range of ages can have mixed results. To learn to deal with prejudice and prejudice-related events, adolescents should be made aware of the feelings and reactions of adults. Their viewpoints (as well as those of younger children) may contribute to the understanding and adjustment of adults.

At the same time, if adolescents witness anger and acting out on the part of adults, their reactions may be intensified. If adolescents exhibit disrespect for authorities and adults, disinterest (feigned or otherwise), or aggression, their presence may create disruption or increased distress on the part of other participants. Gang behavior can be particularly disruptive.

When planning for and trying to address the needs of adolescents, plans should incorporate separate counseling for adolescents. If counseling involves a mixed age group, professional counselors should be alert to how the reactions and involvement of adolescents evolve.

How Soon Is Too Soon?

Riots and events in which gang activity occurs raise difficult questions. If planners are considering using a public forum or a group format for airing grievances and/or initiating community-directed counseling, how soon should such a forum be held? If one is held, is there a danger of reigniting the event? Someone (e.g., a police official, city administrator, school principal, business owner) is likely to voice the concern that it will not be safe to do so. Someone else may suggest a high-profile police presence.

Depending on the volatility of the event and current conditions, reignition may be a concern, and professional counselors and others responsible for postevent care must factor that into their plans. It may be that people are too emotional for a group gathering to be effective in aiding conflict resolution and personal recovery. It is difficult to predict the effect that a police presence might have regardless of the conditions.

The only advice possible is this: People will be in need of counseling and an opportunity to express themselves. Any decision about when and how to

begin a group process must be based on the information that the professional counselor and other knowledgeable people have gathered about the event and the current status of the population affected. Too much of a delay may mean that the question will no longer be "How soon is too soon?" but "Why didn't we do something sooner?"

Summary

Everyone involved in the counseling effort, including the professional counselor, will bring a set of expectations into the room with them. Professional counselors will examine their own beliefs and approaches to counseling to identify their own feelings of prejudice. They will also educate themselves about people of other cultures and ethnic backgrounds so that they will be better prepared to provide counseling and recognize their own limitations in counseling situations.

Long-standing and failed personal expectations are part of the problems surrounding prejudice. Offering quick fixes and superficial services will not lead to resolution. Negative attitudes will have to be overcome before positive change can take place.

Prejudice-related counseling must be reality based. Knowledge of the community, its composition, specific events that led to the counseling effort, community attitudes and resources—the more that is known and shared by the professional counselor in the counseling setting, the more effective will be the counseling effort. Professional counselors and others who must support counseling efforts must also be sensitive to the special needs of children and adolescents, both in terms of emotional support and vulnerability and feelings such as complacency and rebelliousness. The key to successful community-based counseling is gaining both the trust and the involvement of the citizens of the community.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FOUNDATIONS FOR PERMANENT CHANGE

Key Concepts

- Counseling is only one component among many that can contribute to reducing the effects of prejudice, but counseling can be a vital component to positive change.
- If policies and practices of institutions charged with serving the community foster prejudice, a concerted effort will be required and should be made to alter those policies and practices to encourage tolerance and redress grievances.

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The roles of education, service institutions, the law, the media, and individuals in fighting prejudice have been repeatedly discussed and reported. The overarching premise of all recommendations is that the pervasive effects of prejudice can be obliterated if individuals and societies make a serious long-term commitment to do so. An evaluation of current conditions can only lead to one conclusion: Despite the progress that has been made, in proportion to the degree of individual and social change that is required, we are far from our goal.

Any commission reporting on the 1992 Los Angeles riots could reduce the time and expense of the effort by simply gathering data and editing it into the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, which was issued 25 years ago. The only differences might be that there are new reasons for hate (e.g., homelessness), new minorities to serve as targets (e.g., Moslems, Arabs), and new rationalizations for justifying prejudice (e.g., Do we *really* know how AIDS is transmitted?).

A prejudice-related event is only a symptom of the pervasive problem. The fact that the event has ended does not indicate that the problems have been resolved or that communication is possible. Crisis counseling means little if plans are not implemented that will ensure not only continued access to counseling, but also long-term change in social factors that contribute to prejudice.

This chapter provides an overview of how counseling can support efforts for change and some of the obstacles to change, summarizes recommendations for making global changes in our society, and provides practical suggestions for developing effective efforts to address prejudice-related issues in particular.

Professional Counseling's Contributions

Beyond the immediate value of crisis counseling to the community and its citizens, professional counseling can be instrumental, if not vital, in efforts to avoid or diffuse prejudice-related events. Professional counselors can aid in

- Identifying factors contributing to prejudice in general and methods for reducing the power of prejudice to create dissension and stress
- Evaluating short- and long-term psychological effects of prejudice within the community
- Developing guidelines and methods for identifying and dealing with individuals and groups that foster prejudice

- Preparing recommendations for long-term social and institutional change that incorporate systems as well as real-people concerns
- Assisting in the negotiation of change and development of consensus
- Providing support and counseling to officials and others who are under stress during crisis or who may themselves be prejudiced
- Working with community organizations and institutions to provide training designed to create an understanding of diversity and encourage the development of interpersonal skills and sensitivities
- Designing coordinated service delivery systems for short- and long-term mental health care, in-school programs, programs for intervention with prejudiced people, victim support programs, and so forth
- Working with the media to develop educational programs, encourage coverage of prejudice intervention efforts, and eliminate bias from programming and news reporting
- Providing counseling within the criminal justice system

The contributions of professional counseling include creativity, flexibility, neutrality, an understanding of theory, and people-oriented approaches to problem solving.

Finally, as individuals, every professional counselor can make a contribution by confronting and helping to overcome prejudice and discrimination whenever possible. Every group that purports to represent the interests of counseling and education can work to resolve issues of prejudice and discrimination within its membership and organization and within the communities that it serves.

Obstacles to Change

Most human beings strive to reach a level of comfort and security. This is true of children and adults. Order and stability are vital to their sense of continuity. When confronted by change, they become uneasy, insecure, and fearful. Change requires a realignment of loyalties and understandings. There is always a period of adjustment, during which people find their place in the new order.

What is true for individuals is equally true for societies. Social structures are conservative and resistant by nature. They are built up over time, and because societies represent security and the known, the citizens of any society will cling to that structure until the last possible moment. Thus, fear of the unknown can lead to aggressive resistance to any internal change and to the development of programs designed to help other people change.

Because prejudice is both ingrained in individual behaviors and institutionalized, finding it, confronting it, and eliminating it means making global changes in the way people think, live, and work. It requires change at every level of society. People resist it out of ignorance, fear of change, denial, and, of course, prejudice.

Reaching individuals who are prejudiced is particularly difficult. Resistance to and distrust of change is a key component of prejudice and the various defense mechanisms developed by bigots. People who are prejudiced are unlikely to see a value in counseling, and certainly would not voluntarily present themselves for counseling specifically directed at ameliorating prejudice-related issues. If they should become involved in counseling, they are likely to be extremely resistant to counseling efforts.

Opportunities for counseling do present themselves, however. Prejudice-related issues may be raised in family counseling situations and in seemingly unrelated individual counseling sessions, and through court-ordered counseling associated with hate-crime convictions. A prejudiced person's family may be able to influence him or her to seek out counseling, albeit reluctantly. Professional counselors should be prepared to take advantage of any opportunity that is presented.

Resistance also occurs within target populations. The belief systems that are created by victimization (e.g., self-accusation, guilt, fear of further victimization, prejudice in response to prejudice, etc.) naturally lend themselves to resistance. The professional counselor must learn to overcome such resistance and help victims develop more healthful, positive mechanisms for relieving stress and bringing about change.

People who do not see themselves as being directly affected by prejudice are often apathetic toward efforts to overcome prejudice. They either do not understand or choose to ignore the human, sociopolitical, and economic costs of prejudice. Seemingly insulated by their money, color, status, or dissimilarity to target populations, they are unlikely to be empathetic or to experience insecurity related to prejudice. A desire to be seen as "politically correct" may lead them to engage in superficial efforts to create change, but target communities recognize those efforts for what they are. The failure of these disassociated individuals to participate limits the effectiveness of community-wide efforts to address prejudice.

Images presented in the media also foster the creation and strengthening of stereotypes. Both fictional representations and supposedly fact-based reporting incorporate ethnic stereotypes, as well as stereotypical images of women, homosexuals, and other nondominant groups. Bringing changes to the media is a seemingly uphill battle, although more accurate and, therefore, more positive images are being presented more frequently. As is the case in other environments, constant vigilance is necessary on the part of those who monitor media content and media professionals.

Politics and personal choice can lead to the development of superficial, short-term, severely underfunded programs that are, at best, little more than window dressing designed to deceive or confuse. Such panaceas may reflect a lack of effort to change society, decision by committee, the influence of interest groups, lack of leadership, competition between individuals and organizations, and, of course, denial. As a result, many intervention efforts are destroyed before they begin by limited budgets and resources, lack of support, misunderstandings, and an image of addressing issues superficially.

Structural and organizational deficiencies may limit community outreach and delivery. Poor administrative structures, lack of internal support, institutionalized prejudice, and individual prejudices will hamper efforts.

Even when educational efforts are directed at children in the hope that they will not develop and carry on prejudices, if a program does not include an effort to change the destructive prejudices of their parents, families, and communities, the effort to reach the children may fail. Children must grow up in their families, and the conflict between family beliefs reflecting prejudice and efforts to change those beliefs by entities outside the family can lead to distress for the children. If the family is profoundly dysfunctional, alcoholism, child abuse, spouse abuse, and other behaviors may be exacerbated. Pamphlets and a few hours in a classroom do not constitute an effective form of community outreach.

Efforts for Change Must Address Prejudiced People

Recommendations on how to alleviate the suffering of the victims of prejudice and the role of law, institutions, and society at large in effecting change abound. Most sources discuss the need to educate children about diversity and the dangers of prejudice. However, beyond the emphasis on creating and enforcing laws and getting tough on hate crimes, little if anything is said about reaching out to intensely prejudiced adults with direct intervention.

There appear to be three assumptions functioning:

1. Children who are exposed to antiprejudice education in the school will automatically overcome the influence of prejudiced parents and other adults in their homes and not be influenced negatively by the pervasive prejudice they see within their communities.
2. General community-directed educational efforts will be effective in changing the deeply ingrained prejudices of adults and sensitizing the disinterested.

3. Failing that, a few laws and ordinary societal pressures will be adequate to disrupt the influence of bigots and bigotry.

The inaccuracy of these assumptions is demonstrated by the continued existence of prejudice in our society. Eliminating prejudice requires that we educate, reeducate, and again reeducate.

Considering the nature of prejudice and its power when fully developed, direct intervention with adult bigots presents a special challenge. What kind of outreach can be used to bring them into counseling? How can their resistance to change be overcome?

When the pressures of being prejudiced become too great or some event occurs that makes them question their lives, some people will seek out help on their own. However, many people live their lives without expressing their prejudices openly or express them only when they believe it is safe to do so. But prejudice does not lead to happiness and is unlikely to remain concealed forever.

It is often the case that the segment of the population that most needs to change—bigots and almost bigots—is addressed only in punitive ways. They are told that acting on their feelings will lead to punishment. Outside the company of their fellow believers, they may be ostracized. At the same time, openly bigoted people see examples of institutionalized bigotry, hypocrisy, and disinterest all around them. It is little wonder that their feelings of prejudice and belief that they can act on their feelings with impunity continue or increase.

Society has developed programs to intervene in child abuse, spouse abuse, drug abuse, suicide, and numerous other destructive behaviors and develop constructive behaviors. However, minimal effort has been made to provide such programs for children who are prejudiced, let alone adults. It may be that too many people see prejudice as a constant. It may be that too many see the problem of prejudice as being secondary to other problems, rather than being a major cause.

Prejudiced people must be provided with accessible, functional ways to seek alternatives to the philosophy of life to which they are accustomed. More direct means must be used to reach the bigots in our communities. This writer can see only three ways this might be done.

1. *Personal Commitment.* Individuals who come into contact with prejudiced people must use every opportunity available to sensitize the prejudiced to the effects of their bigotry and, if possible, draw them into programs and other efforts designed to overcome prejudice. This requires personal commitment and a willingness to endure hostility and disbelief. Individual efforts can be encouraged by ministers, politicians, educators, organizations like the Scouts, and any other person or group in a position to influence a constituency.

2. *Event-Related Intervention.* Individuals who commit hate crimes and foster other prejudice-related events must be placed in intervention programs or one-on-one counseling that address prejudice in the same way that such programs address child and spouse abuse. This requires a commitment of funding and a reorientation of current intervention efforts.

3. *Targeted Programs.* We must question whether most prejudiced people are likely to come forward to participate in a "ya'll come" type of intervention. Awareness sessions are sometimes effective in addressing marginal prejudice and are certainly effective in sensitizing people who are casually prejudiced (if one can be casual about prejudice), but all too often professional counselors and others only preach to the converted or the near converted. Intervention specialists must go out into the community and bring reeducation efforts directly to the people who most need them, or, if necessary, seek them out one by one.

The problems associated with such an effort are formidable. Training the specialists, targeting efforts, assuring follow-up, funding, and numerous organizational and implementation issues would have to be addressed. In addition, the degree of resistance and potential for individual and group conflict would likely be high. However, in most ways, such a program would be little different from outreach programs for runaways, the homeless, drug users, and other groups who need assistance, but both resist it and fear it. There may even be such programs in operation today about which no one has heard.

The Roles of Legislation and the Criminal Justice System

The Role of Legislation

There are those who view civil rights laws, hate crime laws, and similar codified efforts to combat prejudice as being useless to the goal of overcoming prejudice. People do not change simply because a law is written and passed. However, prejudice can only survive in a society that tolerates its existence. Legislation that is designed to reinforce efforts to create positive change and that establishes enforcement tools that enable a society to identify and eradicate blatant, overt acts of prejudice can provide a foundation for long-term restructuring of society.

Fear of punishment may serve to inhibit some kinds of prejudice-based behavior (e.g., blatant segregation), although fear of punishment is not effec-

tive in the long term. However, legislation without enforcement is powerless to effect change. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a means of enforcement.

Until recently, most of the efforts to alter the climate of prejudice have been framed around civil rights issues. These laws have had an impact on overt expressions of prejudice. However, there is a growing recognition that hate crimes and similar abuses must be addressed more directly than in the past. There are numerous state and local laws that address crimes like desecrating churches and cemeteries, property damage, and public threats, but only recently have localities and states begun to implement legislation that defines specific crimes as hate crimes and establishes different forms and degrees of punishment that constitute more than bandaids.

Legislation serves as a reminder of the goals of society. It summarizes criteria against which behavior can be judged. It can be useful in alleviating open abuses. It provides tools through which we can begin to address institutionalized prejudice and root out the influence of people in power or out of power who are prejudiced. Moreover, prejudice-related legislation and its enforcement is a visible sign of the commitment of government and communities as a whole to efforts to overcome the effects of prejudice. However, critics are correct. Legislation will not change the human heart.

The Criminal Justice System

The current practices and condition of the criminal justice system contribute to the frustration of all citizens, the increase of prejudice, and the growth of hostility within targeted communities.

This statement is not a condemnation of the system as a whole. Rather, it reflects the realities of crime in our nation and, indeed, other nations. In a sense, our justice system is as much a victim of violence as any individual who is robbed on a city street. Property crime and crimes against people have increased. Habitual criminals can be found in literally every age group, with the possible exception of the youngest children. The diversity and pervasiveness of substance abuse and the local and international nature of illegal drug sales create an almost impossible control problem. These and other factors have contributed to what appears to be the beginnings of a total breakdown, if indeed parts of the system have not already failed. In particular, we see:

stressed-out, frustrated employees and high turnover;

a breakdown in the system's ethics;

disparity in sentencing of Whites and minorities;

trial delays;

overcrowding in jails;

incidents of abuse in jail and prison facilities;

inadequate rehabilitation and support programs;

prejudice working within the system;

too few judges and courts;

limited access to legal services;

inadequately skilled lawyers;

revolving door releases;

plea bargaining at all court levels;

lack of mechanisms for addressing complaints;

poor enforcement of laws related to hate crimes and prejudice-related violence; and

prejudice-related violence and a heavy influence of White supremacist organizations within prison populations.

The poor, the working poor, people using social services, and the uneducated are the most frequent victims of crime and acts associated with prejudice. Therefore, they are more likely to be victimized by the system. At the same time, a significant proportion of the individuals who are arrested and sentenced are poor and minorities. The crimes for which they are arrested are often so-called "victimless crimes," such as drug use and prostitution. The systems designed to deter such crimes are tacitly ineffective due to lack of resources and, too often, feelings of frustration or disinterest. This cycle of crime, poverty, undereducation, and discrimination in effect is creating an underclass of criminals.

Thus, the poor and minorities are both victims and victimizers, and they are likely to continue to be both whether they remain in the community or are incarcerated. Therefore, the difficulties within the criminal justice system exacerbate the problems of target populations in particular.

The need for reform is recognized, but there is disagreement regarding what specific steps should be taken and how they can be implemented. Urban areas and small towns alike are hampered in reform efforts by lack of community support, limited funding, interagency fighting, and a sense of being overwhelmed and having little or no time to address long-term issues.

However, the roots of the problem are found within communities as a whole, not confined within the criminal justice system. In truth, the condition of the system is not a cause of problems, but an effect. Our institutions reflect the community, and social conditions and a breakdown of social controls and responsibility are at least contributing factors, if not the major contributing factors.

Hence, reform starts in the community as a whole. Citizens and leaders must not limit their efforts to demanding change. They must work with and

within institutions to identify problems. They must support and participate in efforts to introduce change.

It is true that lack of funding limits what can be done in regard to building new facilities and the like, but there are institutions and facilities already in place that can serve as points of early intervention (e.g., churches, schools, community-based programs for counseling and support). Professional staffs can be supplemented by volunteer professionals and nonprofessionals. A greater effort can be made to work with troubled children before they become troubled adults. The solution does not lie in building bigger jails. It lies in building better people. It is possible. Effective programs, often operating on contributions and volunteer effort, are already in existence.

The Image and Reality of Police Prejudice

In the 1968 *Report by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, which described the causes and nature of that time's urban riots, the following statement appeared:

> Police practices were, in some form, a significant grievance in virtually all cities [where riots occurred] and were often one of the most serious complaints. Included in this category were complaints about physical or verbal abuse of Negro citizens by police officers, the lack of adequate channels for complaints against police, discriminatory police employment and promotion practices, a general lack of respect for Negroes by police officers, and the failure of police departments to provide adequate protection to Negroes. (p. 81)

The same conditions still exist—as demonstrated by the Rodney King incident—and, in fact, may have intensified in some places. Many people of every color and culture view police and other enforcement agents as being threatening, hungry for power and control, instigators of violence, prejudiced, and an instrument of institutionalized prejudice. The actions of individual officers and of police administrators have created this image. Police officers, federal agents, state troopers, detectives—every enforcement agent is a human being. As we have said before, human beings are emotional, reactive, and vulnerable to feelings of prejudice.

However, as stated in the Commission report,

> In a fundamental sense, however, it is wrong to define the problem solely as hostility to police. In many ways, the policeman in the ghetto is a symbol not only of the law, but of the entire system of law enforcement and criminal justice.

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> As such, he becomes the tangible target for grievances against shortcomings throughout that system. . . . The policeman in the ghetto is symbol of the increasingly bitter social debate over law enforcement. . . .
>
> And yet, precisely because the policeman in the ghetto is a symbol—precisely because he symbolizes so much—it is of critical importance that the police and society take every possible step to allay grievances that flow from a sense of injustice and increased tension and turmoil. (pp. 157–158)

The military-like atmosphere, the enhanced sense of elitism, the uniforms and symbols of power, and the sense that fellow officers constitute a group more important than family each can contribute to an environment that is perfect for the intensification of feelings of prejudice. Expressing prejudice will be encouraged by patterns of quietly taking care of problems within a department, resisting efforts to introduce community oversight and intervention, and a variety of other forms of resistance to change and indifference to issues.

Improving Community Relations and Reducing Prejudice

Problems persist, but police agencies are becoming more proactive in addressing prejudice within departments. The speed with which changes are being made may range from moving one toe at a time to complete reorganizations being made almost overnight, but progressive administrations recognize that change must be made.

A variety of approaches are being taken to address behaviors implying prejudice. The keys to the success of such efforts are the active support of communities and neighborhoods; encouragement and support by local, state, and federal governments; and cooperation. Some approaches that could be taken are:

- Development of detailed policies to assist in reducing the tension that may arise in investigative and arrest situations, as well as in situations that are less sensitive.
- Active, early training related to the cultural differences of constituencies served by the officers.
- On-going training in community and interpersonal relations (reverse role playing is an effective tool for enabling officers to see events from a variety of perspectives).
- Crisis intervention training that goes beyond crowd and riot control and incorporates hostility (of officers and citizens) control, negotiating skills, group dynamics and interaction skills, and crisis management.

- Personal stress control training.
- Specific training related to the effects and patterns of prejudice.
- Access to in-house and private counseling services for officers and their families that will permit officers to deal with personal problems that can affect performance and attitude.
- Evaluation programs that are designed to identify behaviors in the field that serve to instigate or aggravate prejudice-related events and incorporate self-evaluation as well as supervisory evaluation.
- Recruiting and working to retain officers whose diversity reflects the diversity of the community's population.
- A return to foot patrols and one-on-one interaction with citizens, which make it clear to officers and citizens that police officers are citizens of the communities that they serve, even when they patrol a neighborhood that is inhabited by people of a different race, socioeconomic level, educational level, and language.

This last option is already being implemented in some communities, although only on an experimental basis. Harkening back to the image of the beat cop that works out of the local station and knows and is known personally by everyone in the community, officers are being returned to foot patrol and neighborhood police stations are being reintroduced. Officers are working in ways that go beyond patrol and arrest duties. They provide assistance in obtaining community services, involve themselves in community activities, and work with individuals to develop programs that help improve life in the community as a whole.

The goal is to improve relations between the police and the community, reduce crime in the neighborhood, and create avenues of communication that can be useful in resolving problems before they become crises. It will take time to determine the effectiveness of this approach in the context of increasing violence, heavy street crime, reduced budgets, drug use, and all the other problems we are experiencing. However, learning to talk to each other and coming to understand the problems and expectations of both sides is not likely to make things worse.

Planning for the Worst

It would be foolish to ignore that a variety of prejudice-related events can and will occur. No place or person is immune from crime and violence. Something that happens on the other side of the nation can spark a reaction. A fistfight can turn into a street riot. If issues of prejudice are involved, any situation can be aggravated.

Enforcement agencies must be prepared to intervene when necessary. Each community and agency will have differing needs and capacities. Those issues cannot be addressed in this volume. However, police organizations, federal agencies, and numerous police departments have developed policies and procedures that govern such intervention. Many departments maintain an active dialogue to improve their abilities to respond. It is clear that provisions must be made to access a wide range of community services. Above all, every means for diffusing situations as early as possible must be considered, and deliberately provocative actions must be avoided whenever possible.

How the Media Can Hurt and Help

To state the obvious, the images and words presented to us through print and picture influence the way we live our lives. Much of what we know about the way society works we learn from the media. Certainly, the media tell most of us most of what we know about the way other communities work. If the media to which our community is exposed incorporate images and words that foster prejudice, the effort to overcome prejudice will be harmed.

Newspapers, books, television, radio, films, toys, video games, stage shows, music—everyone of us is bombarded with picture and print that incorporate both positive and negative images. Any effort to overcome prejudice must incorporate information about media content, negative propaganda, and ways to develop positive, constructive treatments of diversity within the media.

The goal is not to censor content. Rather, the goal is to achieve a balanced, informed, and accurate representation. For example, it is a fact that some neighborhoods have higher crime rates than other neighborhoods, and that one area in a city may be the setting for a specific form of criminal activity. It is also a fact that every neighborhood has many citizens who neither participate in nor condone crime. By working with local news and entertainment services, it is possible to develop ways to present not only reports on crime that occurs in a neighborhood, but also ways the citizens in that community work to combat crime, educate their children, provide for their families, and accomplish positive change. By working together, citizens and the media can encourage improvement, enhance understanding, and provide more positive role models for young people.

The Educational System

Schools are no more and no less than microcosms reflecting every problem, issue, solution, and benefit found in the community. If there is prejudice in the community, there will be prejudice in the schools. If there is limited funding for public services, there will be limited funding for schools and inequity in the way funds are allocated. De facto segregation and increased interethnic tension is the result of these and other factors.

The vulnerability of young people to prejudiced beliefs and the effects of prejudice-related events on young people have already been discussed. The effects on their ability to learn have not. Children in distress are unable to process information. Children who are not well fed, who suffer abuse, who have low self-esteems, and who watch as their parents are victimized by institutionalized bigotry and individual bigots may be insecure, rebellious, aggressive, and fearful of failure. They often quit trying to learn.

Our society's stresses on students, teachers, and schools, particularly schools in low-income urban areas, have led to:

- increased disruption by students, extending to physical attacks on other students, on administrators, and in other settings;
- the loss of skilled teachers;
- the development of poor learning and teaching habits;
- the deterioration of facilities;
- reactive measures such as graduating children who cannot read or write, which extends the effects of an inadequate education through generations;
- decreased course offerings and, therefore, less likelihood of students being prepared for work or college;
- lowered expectations of performance on the part of students, teachers, and parents;
- poor or no interaction between the school and parents; and
- high truancy and drop-out rates.

In some schools, violence is an everyday occurrence. Children of all ages bring weapons to school out of a fear of being attacked, to exact some kind of status, or even to attack another student. We have schools with metal detectors at the door and police in the corridors. In other words, many of our schools have become little more than holding pens for unruly children,

many of whom grow into frustrated, potentially violent young adults. Moreover, there are increasingly frequent incidences of prejudice-related violence in our high schools—events that echo the trauma surrounding violence associated with integration and efforts at busing.

College campuses also reflect our communities. The rise in on-campus prejudice reflects the general increase of prejudice-related activity in society. The danger of prejudice on campuses lies in the fact that academia perceives itself to be a kind of neutral ground or a sanctuary from destructive behavior. It is not especially well prepared to deal with prejudice.

Moreover, the problems experienced at lower educational levels are being carried into advanced education levels. Inadequately educated and motivated high school students are poor performers in college. If a student has been victimized by prejudice and violence, he or she may have special counseling needs or behavioral problems. If a student was a victimizer in high school, it is unlikely that moving on to college will alter the student's behavior. In fact, in the absence of direct parental influence and in an atmosphere that demands independent action and self-reliance, that student's behavior may become even more extreme.

Educators' Contributions

It is important to make every effort to address the problems within the educational system. It is not an exaggeration to say that all pre-college and college school systems in the country have studies that identify problems and propose solutions. In some localities, those plans are being implemented. In others, infighting, lack of money, fear of change, resistance within the community, and other factors are preventing implementation.

Whether the formal structure offers solutions, it is vital to make use of the one inexhaustible source of support to which there is ready access—the community and neighborhood in which the school exists. Some of the suggestions that follow are applicable to pre-college settings, others to all settings. Educators should

- Encourage the active participation of students and parents together in working out in-house solutions to problems that arise.
- Develop volunteer peer and parent tutoring to improve students' skills.
- Work with local businesses to obtain discounted or free equipment such as computers and other materials.
- If textbooks and other sources of information are outdated or in short supply, look for alternative ways to introduce revisions (e.g., photocopies, hand corrections, lectures, visitors with expertise).
- If textbooks contain stereotypical images, inaccurate or inadequate information about historical events, and similar material that fosters preju-

dice, work to remove those textbooks from the classrooms and introduce accurate, bias-free instructional materials.

- If it is not possible to have every teacher attend a valuable workshop, plan ways that the teachers who do attend can share what is learned.
- Seek out or help develop resources in the community and in the school that can address the counseling and support needs of students and their parents.
- If parents do not participate willingly in student activities, make every effort to provide diverse opportunities for them to do so. In neighborhood schools, for example, teachers and administrators could go to students' homes and talk to parents about their children's progress; parents could be recruited as in-school helpers in classrooms, administrative offices, and even cafeterias and maintenance services.
- Introduce multicultural studies and specific courses designed to confront prejudice; discussion groups and role playing will be valuable formats in such efforts.
- Recruit and work to retain administrators and teachers whose diversity reflects the diversity in the community.
- Be alert for signs and symptoms of developing prejudice in the school.

When Prejudice-Related Events Occur in School

- Take immediate action to control the event so that it does not escalate.
- If the event is violent, do not expect nonprofessionals to handle the violence; have policies and procedures that will reduce the danger to students and teachers as much as possible; call police and emergency services the moment it is clear that things will get out of hand.
- Take immediate steps to address the problem and resolve the issues.
- Draw on all available resources (e.g., students, parents, police, professional counselors, community leaders, and anyone and everyone who can make a positive contribution).
- If an event does occur, have a plan in place or make use of the school systems plan to provide counseling for students.

When Prejudice-Related Events Occur Outside School

- Work to have the school system develop procedures for such emergencies or plan for and practice what should be done if such an event occurs.
- Follow the procedures and recommendations by police and emergency service personnel.

- After calm is restored, access counseling services available to students and staff and work within the community to address the causes and effects of prejudice.

Learning About Diversity

The incorporation of multicultural content into both the formal and informal educational environments to which both children and adults are exposed is one of the most important tools in overcoming the effects of prejudice and creating long-term change. The necessary goal of any effort to reduce and overcome prejudice is to instill a respect for difference and a recognition that each individual has a right to enjoy the unique nature of his or her heritage and family institutions.

Each community has a right to expect every citizen to behave like every other citizen in some ways (e.g., to obey traffic regulations and pay his or her share of taxes). However, the necessity of conforming to some of the community's social norms does not imply the need to abandon constructive personal, cultural, and family norms that make a human being unique. That uniqueness adds creativity, spontaneity, and value to the community. If a person has the skills and desire to do so, he or she should be able to compete freely and openly for work and the best that society has to offer. Understanding and accepting this is the foundation of tolerance.

Multiculturalism and Counseling

There is some disagreement regarding the degree to which multicultural factors and experience should affect counseling efforts. Some professional counselors and others believe that it is essential that any counseling offered to the member of a minority or target group must be provided by a person from that same group and with similar experiences. Others say that a skilled professional counselor should be able to address a person's needs without being of the same race or culture. This is not the place to resolve that disagreement.

What can be agreed on is this: Professional counselors are human beings who, like all human beings, may have prejudices and may be the victims of prejudice. Unless a professional counselor understands the nature of prejudice, cultural and socioeconomic factors that have influenced an individual's development, and existing influences in the community as a whole,

it is unlikely that counseling will be effective. At the least, environment and history stimulate us and we react. At the most, they condition us to respond in ways that permit us to function and, it is hoped, prosper emotionally and psychologically.

Numerous books, postgraduate training programs, and other resources are available to professional counselors who wish to raise their awareness of or acquire the necessary skills to address multicultural issues in counseling. Some schools and universities offer courses in multicultural issues and multicultural counseling.

Delivery Settings

To deliver short-term crisis management services, it may be necessary to assemble materials hastily, work with limited resources and staff, and gather in makeshift quarters. The immediacy of the goal may subordinate the niceties of thorough organization and formal structures. However, once the immediate crisis passes, the structures chosen for creating change become vitally important.

The overarching goal must be to reach the largest possible portion of the population in consistent, fact-based, purposeful ways. Ideally, a variety of settings and delivery structures should be used, including

Formalized Educational Structures
- Precollege school-based programs
- College-based programs

Community-Based Programs
- Social service agencies
- Short- and long-term formats
- Programs in religious institutions
- Neighborhood task forces

People-to-People Communication
- Peer counseling
- Community programs

Promoting Program Activities Through the Media

If people do not know about the programs and tools used to overcome prejudice, they cannot participate in the effort. It is not practical to rely

on word of mouth to promote town meetings, counseling opportunities, seminars, or any other forum promoting one's efforts. This may seem to be stating the obvious, but too often the success of an effort to educate the public about prejudice is defeated by the fact that the public does not know it is happening.

Today, newspapers, radio, and television promotion are vital to encouraging participation and attendance, as well as to building consensus and creating a climate of change. There may be no money for advertising, but that does not mean that there is no way to use the media to promote the program. Media can be made participants in the educational process by contributing free air time or space, running public service announcements, and actively participating in the educational process by developing programming and content that fosters the goals of the reeducation effort.

Our prejudices sometimes influence the forms of outreach we use in advertising. If people have limited language skills, because they are not native speakers or because they are unable to read, printed advertisements or single-language advertisements will not reach them. People who are unable to see or who have limited vision or hearing skills have special needs for services (and they may also have been targeted for hate crimes).

Many educational systems now have closed-circuit television systems within elementary, middle, and high schools. If the local school system has such equipment, it may be possible to involve the students in creating and presenting information on prejudice through the school system.

Measuring Success

If a formal evaluation is desired, numerous formats are available. The evaluation could be conducted by an independent agency or group, or by anyone skilled in evaluation techniques. A variety of structures can be used (e.g., paper and phone surveys, statistical analysis of historical and current data on frequency and nature of incidents, public opinion polls, demographic surveys, etc.). The format used must be selected based on the nature and use of the information desired. If federal and state agencies have contributed funding to reeducation efforts, it is likely that a formal evaluation will be required. Most agencies provide guidelines for evaluation.

Summary

A renewed commitment to addressing the social factors and individual behaviors that promote and enliven feelings of prejudice is necessary if we are to overcome the effects of prejudice. Professional counselors can use their skills to support the efforts of community organizations, the social service and legal systems, and government to evaluate attitudes and policies and to introduce positive, ethnically sensitive programs.

Changes can be made despite ingrained resistance and widespread prejudice. There must be a new effort to reach out to people who feel prejudice, examine and revise prejudice-related laws, reform both the approach and the image of law enforcement and institutional structures, and remove stereotypical images from the media and from the materials we use to educate our children and adults.

Educators must also reexamine their approaches to prejudice-related events and learn how to better identify and reduce the potential for such events to occur. More importantly, the educational system must be proactive in eliminating the climate of prejudice within itself and within the community it services.

Finally, the most direct measure of success of efforts to reduce prejudice and its effects is a reduction in or elimination of prejudice-related events and discriminatory practices. If the community supports necessary programs and actively pursues ways to eliminate prejudice and its effects, conditions will improve. It will take time and will likely cause distress and conflict, but involvement and dedication will work.

Professional counselors and educators are citizens, and every citizen has the potential to be a peer counselor in the effort to reduce prejudice. The responsibility of professional counselors to help alleviate the distress caused by prejudice is no less than that of any other citizen. In fact, because professional counselors can bring special skills to the effort, their responsibility in bringing about change may be greater. In the end, the ultimate responsibility for prejudice lies within ourselves and our willingness to work to change the enduring climate of prejudice in which we live into a climate that tolerates only tolerance.

RESOURCES

The following list is by no means comprehensive nor definitive, especially in regard to ethnic and culture specific sources. There are many personal accounts and histories of ethnic peoples and cultures available. The printed materials that are listed here are thought-provoking sources of information that typically include extensive citations that will be valuable to professional counselors, educators, and others seeking to educate themselves or other people about prejudice and multicultural issues. (Volumes with no notation were recommended by reviewers, but not seen by the author.)

General

Allen, R.L. (1983). *Reluctant reformers: Racism and social reform movements in the United States.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Good review of the social reform movements in 19th- and 20th-century America.

Allport, G.W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice* (rev. ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. (Original work published 1954)

A seminal work in that Allport both gathered key materials related to prejudice under one cover and took a public stand on what remains controversial issues. Inspired by the events leading up to and during World War II and rising civil rights activity during the 1950s. A basic reference tool written for any audience.

Anderson, D.D., & Wright, R.L. (1971). *The dark and tangled past: Race in America.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

A collection of historical works primarily reflecting the attitudes of bigotry that have influenced both policy and individual behavior. A valuable resource and well worth looking for in the library.

Bettelheim, B., & Janowitz, M. (1964). *Social change and prejudice, including "Dynamics of Prejudice."* New York: The Free Press.

Classic work examining prejudice.

Douglas, W.O. (1963). *The anatomy of liberty: The rights of man without force.* New York: Trident.

Profound treatise on justice, liberty, our legal institutions, and equal protection.

Ezekiel, R.S. (1984). *Voices from the corner.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

A remarkable book recounting a reporter's highly personal experience interviewing individuals living in a poverty-stricken metropolitan area.

Fager, C. (1985). *Selma, 1965: The march that changed the South.* Boston: Beacon.
Thorough, thoughtful history.

Holmes, F. R. (Ed.). (1970). *Prejudice and discrimination: Can we eliminate them?* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Collection of broad-ranging readings, incorporating discussion questions and activities.

Jones, J.M. (1972). *Prejudice and racism.* Reading: Addison-Wesley.
Concise, thorough volume written from the viewpoint of social psychology.

Knopke, H.J., Norrell, R.J., & Rogers, R.W. (Eds.). (1991). *Opening doors: Perspectives on race relations in contemporary America.* Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.
Excellent collection of papers covering a wide range of viewpoints, with extensive bibliography.

Myers, S. L., Jr., & Simms, M.C. (Eds.). (1988). *The economics of race and crime.* New Brunswick, NY: Transaction.
An edited collection addressing the relationship between work, poverty, race, and prejudice.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. (1968). *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
Could be termed a classic analysis of mob violence in response to continued prejudice and poverty. Provides a concise review of the causes and nature of urban riots, as well as guidelines for handling civil disturbances and bringing about long-term changes that will ameliorate contributing conditions. Regrettably, this volume may be difficult to find, although local libraries may have copies.

Pettigrew, T.F., Fredrickson, G.M., Knobel, D.T., Glazer, N., & Ueda, R. (1982). *Prejudice.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
A brief, user-friendly volume that would be a useful reading assignment for students and others.

Samudam, R.J. (1975). *Psychological testing of American minorities.* New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company.

Steinfield, M. (1970). *Cracks in the melting pot: Racism and discrimination in American history.* Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press.
Collection of readings from books and the popular press of the 19th and 20th centuries. Includes suggestions for further readings.

Tucker, S. (1968). Violence and color. In W. Moss (Ed.), *Violence* (Marshall-Wythe Symposium on Violence) (pp. 113-132). Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary.
A thought-provoking presentation closely following the season of riots in 1967.

Children

Clark, K.B. (1955). *Prejudice and your child.* Boston: Beacon.
One of the classic works on prejudice. A vital resource.

Matiella, A.C. (1991). *Positively different: Creating a bias free environment for young children.* Santa Cruz, CA: Network Publications.
Good resource for introducing children to diversity.

Counseling

Atkinson, D.R., Morten, G., & Sue, D.W. (1989). *Counseling American minorities: A cross cultural perspective* (3rd ed.). Dubuque, IA: William C Brown.
Good professional reference outlining key issues in individual counseling.

Brown, S.L. (1991). *Counseling victims of violence.* Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.
A valuable source of practical guidance on counseling victims of violence in general. Especially useful in evaluating the combined effects of prejudice and violence.

Capuzzi, D., & Cross, D.R. (Eds.). (1989). *Youth at risk: A resource for counselors, teachers and parents.* Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.
Provides broad coverage of key issues in counseling youth at risk. Valuable in putting prejudice into the broader context of dysfunction and stress in current society as experienced by youth.

Devore, W., & Schlesinger, E.C. (1991). *Ethnic-sensitive social work practice.* Columbus, OH: Merrill.
Useful to degreed social workers and professional counselors.

Dillard, J.M. (1983). *Multicultural counseling: Toward ethnic and cultural relevance in human encounters.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
Broad reference on multicultural counseling; very useful.

Gibbs, J.T., & Huang, L.N. (Eds.). (1989). *Children of color: Psychological interventions with minority youth.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
A key resource for child counselors. Thorough and well-documented.

Herr, E.L. (1989). *Counseling in a dynamic society: Opportunities and challenges.* Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.
Provides guidance on counseling in the context of today's changing society as well as in the context of change in general. Chapters 4 and 5 address diversity and special populations at risk.

Johnson, M.E. (1993). A culturally sensitive approach to child therapy. In C. Brems (Ed.), *A comprehensive guide to child psychotherapy*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Brief but thorough article useful to professional counselors.

Kimmerland, G.F. (1993, Spring). When saying no is the right thing to do. *American Counselor*, *2*(2), 5–6.

A brief, valuable review of questions that professional counselors should ask themselves about their ability to counsel, including about their own prejudices.

Kozol, J. (1992). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York: Perrenial Library.

Excellent and disturbing volume in light of the 40 years of direct effort toward developing equal education.

Lee, C.C., & Richardson, B.L. (Eds.). (1991). *Multicultural issues in counseling: New approaches to diversity*. Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.

Good collection of readings related to counseling specific groups. See especially chapters 3 and 4, which address the needs of American Indians and Native Americans and incorporate useful but brief reference lists.

McFadden, J. (Ed.). (1993). *Transcultural counseling: Bilateral and international perspectives*. Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

McGoldrick, M., Pearce, J.K., & Giordano, J. (Eds.). (1982). *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York: Guilford.

Good collection of papers. Useful resource lists.

Pedersen, P.B. (1988). *A handbook for developing multicultural awareness*. Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.

Excellent volume providing specifics on developing programs geared to multicultural programs. Includes an especially valuable self-evaluation test as an appendix, as well as exercises and an extensive bibliography.

Pedersen, P.B. (Ed.). (1991, September/October). Multiculturalism as a fourth force in counseling [Special issue]. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *70*(1).

Key resource for all professional counselors.

Pedersen, P.B., Draguns, J.G., Lonner, W.J., & Trimble, J.E. (Eds.). (1989). *Counseling across cultures* (3rd ed.). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

A key resource for professional counselors that is also a good resource for noncounselors who want guidance on multicultural issues.

Ponterotto, J.G., & Casas, J.M. (1991). *Handbook of racial/ethnic minority counseling research*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.

Sue, D.W. (1990). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice*. New York: Wiley.

A vital professional reference that can serve as a text for future counselors.

Sue, D.W., Arrendondo, P., & McDavis, R.J. (1992, March/April). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 70,* 477–486.

Published by both the *Journal of Counseling & Development* and the *Journal for Multicultural Counseling and Development* to ensure the broadest possible dissemination to counselors. In addition to providing thought-provoking recommendations for standards and competencies, provides an excellent reference list.

Education

Altbach, P.G., & Lomoley, K. (Eds.). (1991). *The racial crisis in American higher education.* Syracuse, NY: University of New York at Syracuse Press.

Chavkin, N.F. (Ed.). (1993). *Families and schools in a pluralistic society.* Ithaca, NY: State University of New York Press.

Cheatham, H.E., et al. (1991). *Cultural pluralism on campus.* Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.

A brief but thorough review of issues related to ethnic issues in campus settings. Provides concise suggestions for policies and practices, including evaluation of programs.

Dilworth, M.E. (1992). *Diversity in teacher education: New expectations.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gibson, M.A., & Y Ogbu, J.U. (1991). *Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities.* Hamden, CT: Garland.

Horowitz, R. (1986). *Honor and the American dream: Culture and identity in a Chicano community.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Detailed history and discussion of issues related to urban poverty, gangs, youth, and family in Chicano culture, with extensive citations.

Klanwatch. (1992a, June). Reading, writing & racism: America's schools confront racial and ethnic intolerance. *Klanwatch Intelligence Report,* 7–10.

Brief summary of current information on racism on campus, citing specific examples of incidents and survey data. Issue also includes review of efforts by hate groups to exploit Rodney King verdict.

Lynch, J. (1987). *Prejudice reeducation and the schools.* East Brunswick, NJ: Nichols.

Porter, R.P. (1991). *Forked tongue: The politics of bilingual education.* New York: HarperCollins.

Solomon, R.P. (1992). *Black resistance in high school: Forging a separatist culture.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Reports on a study of West Indian high school students in Toronto, Canada. Demonstrates both the universality of ethnic issues, as well as providing thought-provoking information on cultural identity and, particularly, the development of identity by children and adolescents. Incorporates practical program suggestions, with an extensive bibliography.

Waggoner, D. (1991). *Undereducation in America: The demography of high school dropouts*. Dover, MA: Dover House Publishing.

Ethnic/Cultural Groups

Ashabranner, B. (1985). *To live in two worlds: American Indian youth today*. New York: Dodd, Mead.

Ashabranner, B. (1986). *Dark harvest: Migrant farm workers in America*. New York: Dodd, Mead.

Chace, W.M., & Collier, P. (1970). *Justice denied: The Black man in White America*. New York: Harcourt Brace & World.

Detailed discussion of the impact of prejudice within the social and justice structure. The issues raised are as pertinent today as they were in 1970.

Daniels, R. (1990). *Coming to America*. New York: HarperCollins.

History of immigration from Colonial times and covering all major ethnic populations. Provides statistics on populations, good discussion of the Immigration Reform Act of 1986, and good bibliography.

Ellison, R. (1952). *Invisible man*. New York: New American Library.

Experiences of a Black man in America; an excellent volume.

Georges-Abeyie, D. (1984). *The criminal justice system and Blacks*. New York: Clark Broadman.

A collection of readings on the justice system, sentencing, imprisonment, institutionalization, and the influence of prejudice.

Helms, J.E. (Ed.). (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Greenwood.

Good resource dealing with current issues.

Howe, I. (1976). *World of our fathers: The journey of the Jews to America and the life they found and made*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Excellent and thought-provoking history.

Kingston, M.H. (1976). *The woman warrior: Memories of a girlhood among ghosts*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Outstanding.

Kirk, W.D., & Kirk, S.V. (1993). The African American student athlete. In W.D. Kirk & S.V. Kirk (Eds.), *Student athletes: Shattering myths and sharing the realitites* (pp. 99–109). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

Brief but valuable chapter discussing the multiple prejudices related to Black athletes. The volume as a whole is useful in terms of understanding attitudes toward athletics as a subculture. Includes case studies and discussion questions.

Kivisto, P. (Ed.). (1989). *The ethnic enigma: The salience of ethnicity for European-origin groups*. Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press.

Interesting, brief scholarly collection of case studies/readings addressing generational attitudes.

Klanwatch. (1992, June). Violence against gays and lesbians at epidemic levels. *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, 1–6.

Reports on anti-gay hate crimes.

Le Espiritu, Y. (1992). *Asian American panethnicity: Bridging institutions and identities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Lerner, G. (1972). *Black women in White America: A documentary history*. New York: Pantheon.

Valuable work demonstrating the impact of being a "multiple minority" and a woman in general.

Majors, R., & Billson, J.M. (1993). *Cool pose: The dilemmas of Black manhood in America*. New York: Lexington Books.

Meier, M.S., & Rivera, F. (1972). *The Chicanos: A history of Mexican Americans*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Thorough history up to 1970. Good reference section.

Moore, J., & Pachon, H. (1985). *Hispanics in the United States*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Excellent history with extensive citations.

Myrdal, G. (1962). *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy* (rev. ed.). New York: Harper & Row.

A seminal work originally published in 1944. An in-depth sociological study of race, prejudice, politics, and economics in the United States that had a major impact on scholars and politicians.

Nagel, J. (in press). *American Indian ethnic renewal: Red power and the transformation of identity and culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1986). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*. New York: Routledge.

Slapin, B., & Seale, D. (1987). *Books without bias: Through Indian eyes* (rev. ed.). Berkeley, CA: Oyate Press.

Excellent resource; also useful in that it alerts readers to the categories of bias to consider when reviewing materials related to other ethnic groups.

Takai, R. (1989). *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans*. New York: Penguin.

Excellent history of Asian Americans incorporating thorough discussion of past and present prejudice. Extensive notes.

Walker, A. (1982). *The color purple.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Excellent. The film based on the book is available on videotape.

Wright, R. (1966). *Black boy: A record of childhood and youth.* New York: Harper & Row.
Outstanding and disturbing personal account.

Hate Crimes/Groups

Dees, M., & Fiffer, S. (1991). *A season for justice: The life and times of civil rights lawyer Morris Dees.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
Valuable both because it recounts the character and methods used by specific hate groups and because it is an autobiography of famed civil rights lawyer Morris Dees, a man remarkable both for his dedication and his upbringing. Speaks to the remarkable resources within the victims of hate crimes, and the convoluted legal system within which we must seek redress.

Klanwatch. (1989, November). *Special report: Outlawing hate crime.*
Brief review of issues and laws related to hate crime.

Klanwatch. (1990, April). *Terror in our neighborhoods.* Montgomery, AL: Klanwatch.
Concise report on neighborhood hate crime, including examples of community action against such crimes.

Klanwatch. (1992, February). Record number of hate groups active across U.S. in 1991. *Klanwatch Intelligence Report,* 1–2.
Entire issue is an excellent source of information on supremacist groups active in the United States.

Southern Poverty Law Center. (1991). *The Ku Klux Klan: A history of racism and violence. Special report* (4th ed.). Montgomery, AL: Klanwatch.
Excellent general and teaching resource on the KKK, as well as on White supremacist organizations in general. Liberally illustrated. Good teaching tool.

Tarrants, T. (1979). *The conversion of a Klansman.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Williams, R., & Wells, L. (1986). *When hate groups come to town: A handbook of model community responses.* Atlanta, GA: Center for Democratic Renewal.
Useful and brief.

Multicultural Education

Baker, G.C. (1983). *Planning and organizing for multicultural instruction.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Brief but thorough volume describing multicultural instruction with very young children. Includes model lesson plans. This volume might be useful for people structuring classes for adults as well because it deals with sensitizing through hands-on activities. For example, several lessons involve using poetry written by authors from different cultures to show both similarities and differences in life approaches. Good resource lists including books and other media.

Banks, J.A. (1988). *Multiethnic education: Theory and practice* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Excellent resource that reviews the theoretical underpinnings of prejudice, its effects on the educational environment and on students, and approaches to structuring and implementing multicultural education.

Banks, J.A. (1991). *Teaching strategies for ethnic studies* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Liberally illustrated, well-organized instructional text incorporating annotated bibliographies, lists of materials, key concepts set out by grade level, and related instructional materials. Organized into six sections: instruction guidelines, four sections on concepts and strategies for instruction related to specific ethnic clusters, and a section on evaluating multicultural teaching units. Provides a valuable chronological table and a list of 20 classic references as appendices.

Byrnes, D., & Kiger, G. (Eds.). (1992). *Common bonds: Anti-bias teaching in a diverse community.* Wheaton, MD: American Council for Education.

Kendall, F.E. (1983). *Diversity in the classroom: A multicultural approach to the education of young children.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

An excellent, brief volume outlining approaches to bringing multicultural education to young children.

King, E.W. (1990). *Teaching ethnic and gender awareness. Methods and materials for the elementary school.* Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

Sleeter, C.E., & Grant, C.A. (1988). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race, class, and gender.* Columbus, OH: Merrill.

Southern Poverty Law Center. (Biannual publication). *Teaching tolerance.* Montgomery, AL: Author.

Southern Poverty Law Center. (1992). *America's Civil Rights Movement.* Montgomery, AL: Author.

Excellent award-winning instructional package with videotape by filmmaker Charles Guggenheim; includes detailed lesson plans and text. Free to educators. Highly recommended.

Thompson, B.J. (1992). *Words can hurt you: Beginning a program of anti-bias education.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Tiedt, P.L., & Tiedt, I.M. (1990). *Multicultural teaching: A handbook of activities, information, and resources* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

An outstanding resource for those working with young children. The recommendations and suggested materials are wide ranging and exhaustive. People working

with adults are likely to find this volume of use as well. Appropriately adapted, many of the exercises would be useful with adult groups. Particularly valuable for its lists of ethnically sensitive books appropriate for young children, as well as the extensive resource list that contains many materials appropriate for adults as well as specific units on a wide range of ethnic groups.

Videotapes and Films

Excellent resources useful with older children and adults. The sources cited have other tapes and films that would be valuable in prejudice-related training and multicultural education.

American tongues [Film]. New Day Films, 121 West 27th Street, New York, NY 10001.

Good resource for sensitizing children ages 10 and above (and likely a few adults) to the stereotypes and prejudices associated with different speech patterns.

Black in White America [Videotape]. Capital Cities/ABC Enterprises, Inc., 825 7th Avenue, New York, NY 10019.

Excellent documentary originally presented on network television.

Chinese gold [Videotape]. One West Media, P.O. Box 5766, Sante Fe, NY 87502-5766.

Eyes on the Prize: America's civil rights years [Videotape, series I and II; 14 tapes]. PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314-1698.

Outstanding PBS series that provides a detailed history in terms of both facts and impact on individuals.

Hate crime: A training video for police [Videotape]. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Brief (17 minutes) training film with instructional manual.

How the West was won . . . and honor lost [Film]. CRM Films, 2233 Farday, Carlsbad, CA 92008.

Topaz [internment of Japanese Americans in campus in United States during World War II] [Videotape]. One West Media, P.O. Box 5766, Sante Fe, NY 87502-5766.

Organizations

Each of the following organizations can provide information on prejudice-related events, training materials and resources, community-based pro-

grams, and other items of interests. Readers should also research local and state organizations dedicated to prejudice-related education and awareness and contact their local libraries for additional sources of information.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Provides research and analysis of hate crimes, as well as education, resources, and community response services.

Break the Silence (Coalition Against Anti-Asian Violence), P.O. Box 2165, San Francisco, CA 94126.

Offers educational materials and instruction related to anti-Asian violence.

Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302.

National organization of civil rights and religious organizations dedicated to nonviolent confrontation of hate groups. Offers victim assistance, education, and community organization services.

Klanwatch, Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104.

Founded by Morris Dees, Klanwatch publishes a periodical (*Klanwatch Intelligence Report*), occasional reports, and a variety of materials targeted at educating people about prejudice, including the Center's program Teaching Tolerance, which addresses issues of concern to a wide range of ethnic and cultural groups. The program offers a biannual publication free to educators and an outstanding videotape educational series. Klanwatch is a valuable source for current information on prejudice-related events and hate crimes, as well as legislation and policy concerns.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1025 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Excellent resource for range of materials and information.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1734 14th St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Offers educational and organizational programs.

National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, 31 South Greene St., Baltimore, MD 21201.

Provides workshops and public information on ethnic violence.

National Victims Center, 307 West 7th St., Fort Worth, TX 76102.

Extensive resource library. Offers public awareness program and a speaker's bureau.

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, 145 Ednam Dr., Charlottesville, VA 22903.

Developed an excellent list of resources and guidelines for preparing programs related to the 500th-year celebration of Columbus's first journey to North America, with a valuable list of items useful in providing historical background on native peoples, including videotape programs. For a copy, write the VFH, which also has other materials of interest. Other state foundations may provide similar materials.

REFERENCES

Allport, G.W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice* (rev. ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. (Original work published 1954)

Bettelheim, B., & Janowitz, M. (1964). *Social change and prejudice, including "Dynamics of Prejudice."* New York: The Free Press.

Brown, S.L. (1991). *Counseling victims of violence.* Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.

Clark, K.B. (1955). *Prejudice and your child.* Boston: Beacon.

Dees, M., & Fiffer, S. (1991). *A season for justice: The life and times of civil rights lawyer Morris Dees.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Klanwatch. (1992, February). Record number of hate groups active across U.S. in 1991. *Klanwatch Intelligence Report,* 1–2.

Klanwatch. (1992, June). Reading, writing & racism: America's schools confront racial and ethnic intolerance. *Klanwatch Intelligence Report,* 7–10.

Klanwatch. (1992, June). Violence against gays and lesbians at epidemic levels. *Klanwatch Intelligence Report,* 1–6.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. (1968). *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Pettigrew, T.F., Fredrickson, G.M., Knobel, D.T., Glazer, N., & Ueda, R. (1982). *Prejudice.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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